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NEW ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
LIFE, STUDIES, AND WRITINGS
OF
SHAKESPEARE.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO ALL THE EDITIONS.

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OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



yet glimmers with some streaks of day.—MACBETH, Act III. Sc. 3.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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P R E F A C E.

THERE is no English author on whom so much editorial labour has been bestowed, as on Shakespeare. The reason is plain. No author has deserved it better or requires it more. We may perhaps be a little extravagant in our admiration of him. It seems to many as if it were a duty they owed to their country to assert his unimpeachable excellence. This may be to form too high an estimate of him ; but, when every deduction is made on account of his unfiled expressions, his occasional offences against decorum, dramatic or moral, and other faults, which every one who would have his admiration sympathized in by the reflecting part of the community must allow to exist, he will still appear high in the first rank of those of all ages and nations who have instructed and delighted mankind, and whose high thoughts embodied in harmonious numbers are to go down to the latest posterity, a bright and beautiful inheritance which the Sons of Song have bequeathed to us.

As he eminently deserves that no pains shall be spared to make his sense and meaning fully apprehended, so does he also most eminently require that there should step in between the books in which his contemporaries exhibited to the world what he had written, and those who are to peruse them,

persons who under the name of Annotators, Commentators, Critics, Editors, make these books not their pleasurable companions only, but the subject of their close and devoted study. Strange as the assertion may appear, there is scarcely an ancient manuscript of any reputation of any ancient author which does not present a purer text than do the printed books, whether in quarto or in folio, which contain the only early and what may be called the authoritative texts of his writings. There never were books more carelessly superintended through the press; perhaps in the whole annals of English typography there is no record of any book of any extent and any reputation having been dismissed from the press with less care and attention than the first folio. But the typographer ought not perhaps to bear the whole blame. The manuscripts placed in the printer's hands must have been ill prepared for him. A second edition of the folio appeared nine years after the first, while still his contemporaries were alive. This contains some valuable corrections, but it has marks of haste and carelessness peculiar to itself.

The effect of this is that we have received nothing from his own time on which we can absolutely rely as being the words in their purity as they flowed from his pen. Not but that in the main what we have is what he wrote, but if concerning any particular passage a reasonable doubt is raised whether we have it as he left it, the doubt deserves to be considered, and though high deference is due to the early copies, and especially when we find quartos and both folios concurring in the same reading, yet so strong are the proofs of the care-

lessness with which the impressions were made, that they can never be taken as evidence that is perfectly conclusive.

No very satisfactory account has ever been given of the mode in which the contemporary editions of the writings of Shakespeare were prepared, so as to explain why the text is so grossly corrupted, and why his folios are so much less to be trusted than the folios of Spenser and Jonson. One thing is pretty clear, that there are hardly any portions of the printed dramatic writings of Shakespeare which can be supposed to have been superintended through the press by himself. Indeed the folios were not printed till many years after his death.

Here then we see the principal and very sufficient cause of the demand for editorial labour which these writings make, rather than those of any other great English author.

For the first and most important duty of an editor is to secure a just text, which is only saying that he is to set before us that which the Poet wrote, and that only; to take care that there is not palmed upon us something as Shakespeare's which he would have disdained to write, or something which, though not absolutely unintelligible and bad, is yet not so good as that which he had actually written. An editor ought to regard himself as the protector of our poetical inheritance; the person to see that it is kept in the well-ordered state in which the founders left it; he is like the guardian of a large family of minors.

The judicious editor will found himself on the original copies, and when they vary he will, to the best of his judg-

ment, decide among the varying lections, and give that which appears to him to be the best. But in this he may form a wrong judgment. And thus it is that the labours of one editor give occasion to the labours of others, to shew that he has done so.

Or he may err in his corrections of passages decidedly corrupt. He may suspect corruption where none really exists. He may think he is repairing the tenement while he is in fact dilapidating it. He may spoil where he thinks to amend. He may take off the rose from the fair forehead, and set a blister there. No one who has attended closely to the progress of editorial labour on these writings, from the time of Rowe, who first undertook to revise the ancient text, can doubt that this has often been done. Indeed, unthinking people who have felt themselves offended by a misjudgment of a modern editor, have said, Give us the old editions. This is going too far; but the modern editors require to be themselves subjected to editorial revision, and thus again the editorial labour bestowed on these writings becomes multiplied.

But it is not enough to secure if we can a true text. There are passages where we have no sufficient reason to doubt that we have the words as the Poet, perhaps in his haste or his negligence, left them; but his meaning is not clearly evolved. The sense is obscure not to the many only, but to those who have long pondered on the passages, and have brought to the consideration of them no small share of the requisite accessories. Such passages require to be ex-

plained. Hence another class of annotations. As they are by hypothesis obscure, so they will in all probability be differently interpreted by different commentators. When doctors disagree who shall decide? The only way appears to be to present the different views taken by different critics, if of reputation, and if these views are not, as may sometimes be the case, too weak and absurd to claim even the slightest regard. People may deride attempts to explain. They may say that they are attempts at elucidating what is clear as the day, or that passages are elucidated into obscurity, or they may smile at the oversight of some unfortunate critic. On the whole, however, no reasonable person will doubt that critical labour of this kind has been very usefully employed; but this goes largely to swell the amount of the annotation.

Shakespeare, writing for the multitude rather than for scholars, used the vernacular language. In this there were in his time many words and phrases which have become obsolete and their meaning uncertain. This gives occasion to editorial labour of another kind. These words and phrases demand, in order to be understood, that they shall be illustrated from the speech of certain classes of society in which they are still found, or from the writings of other persons, the poet's contemporaries, who have not disdained the use of them.

Shakespeare has many allusions to the persons and events of his own day, not so conspicuous and so easy to be apprehended that the allusion is evident to every one, nor are they to the great public events only, with which all may be supposed to be familiar. Indeed allusions of this kind are not frequent; they are rather to the minor events of the day and to the

persons of secondary note. They are sometimes also distant and obscure; as if he intended that they should be fully understood only by a few persons, at least not presented to the common understanding of the crowds who frequented his theatre. Many of these have been detected and illustrated. Some it is probable never will be discovered; and there will be some, where doubts, just and reasonable doubts, may be entertained, whether an allusion was indeed really intended. Yet the suggestions of a mind intimately acquainted with the men and minuter transactions of the Shakespeare period will not be thought valueless, even if they do not carry complete conviction with them; while, where the evidence is complete, such kind of annotation is among the most satisfactory and pleasing that can be presented to us. It illustrates not only the mode of thinking of this great writer, but also his personal history, to a certain extent,—a subject on which we desire to know much more than it has been permitted to us to receive. Here then we have further reason for the extent of editorial labour which these writings require and have received.

Shakespeare has many allusions to customs, usages, and opinions that have long passed away. The memory however of many of them remains, and every reader supplies for himself the little knowledge which is requisite to understand the allusion, or the exact force, of the author's words. But there are others which are no longer traditionally remembered, nor easily collected from books. It is the duty of an editor to supply the information which the reader may be supposed to want. This also adds to the mass.

Few persons will say that any editorial labour of the classes

of which I have spoken, supposing it to be good in its kind, ought to be dispensed with, or can be dispensed with. It is presumed that when we set up Shakespeare as the great English Poet, we do not mean that he is an author to be read in mere idle moods, and that we mean to receive from him the amount of pleasure which, however read, he will give ; but that we would have the text as he gave it, and understand the full force of every expression used by him, and his full intent and meaning in it. One thing we may carry with us as a most certain truth, that the more perfectly he is understood the higher will be our admiration and delight. And this may lead us to extend our forgiveness if sometimes an Editor has seemed to intrude his information, and sought to make clear to us that which was already clear as the day. But there is another department of what is deemed editorial duty, which has led to a great increase of annotation, which many suppose of a less profitable kind.

It will at once be understood that I mean the Parallelisms.

These are seldom essential to the right understanding of the Poet, and yet they are not entirely beside the legitimate purpose of the commentator's duty. Shakespeare delivers lessons of moral wisdom, often curious and profound ; and it cannot but be at least a pleasant and satisfactory knowledge, that the same thoughts have presented themselves to other great minds in different ages of the world, and especially if the thoughts have found similar words in which to express themselves, there being no reason to suppose that there was any acquaintance in the English Poet with the works of some

great predecessor, or where in a later writer there has been no reason to suppose that the thought was suggested by him. He would be a very severe commentator on commentators who should object to all annotation of this kind ; though, considering the extent to which it might run out, the editor would here be disposed to put a restraint upon himself. Oxford has given us a whole volume for instance of parallel thoughts and expressions between Shakespeare and Aristotle ; and John Hales, who relieved the severities of his learned labours by the study of these writings, goes so far as to say that there was nothing delivered by the ancients which he could not find as well said by our own Shakespeare : the proof of this in detail might not seem to be irrelevant. But the disposition to this particular kind of illustration, of which we find so much in the commentators and editors, may easily be carried too far.

Not so, however, when we have reason to believe that the Poet had before him, whether in a book or in the stores of his memory, a passage of some great author which he has imitated or which has been suggestive to himself. Everything of this kind belongs to the history of the Poet's studies and genius, of which we can never know too much. Nor is the pleasure to be despised of observing how he has treated the observation of another ; how, as would generally be found, in passing through his mind it has been refined or exalted.

Nor shall we say that it is beside the duty of an editor to shew wherein Shakespeare has himself been imitated. Here however it is evidently his duty to confine himself to authors

themselves of the very first rank. I could almost say that the imitations which are to be detected in Milton are almost the only imitations which deserve to be placed on the editorial page. Those of more ordinary poets might be left to be discovered by those who value them.

Again, there is a call for a large amount of editorial labour in tracing the Poet to the works in which he found the stories which have supplied him with the plots of his plays; and in exhibiting the manner in which he has proceeded in adapting the stories to dramatic purposes.

Then there is that highest criticism of all, the illustration of the Poet's general intention and genius; the unfolding his design in a whole play, or in some great and prominent character; or, universally, the consonance of each of the plays with the type of his own mind and genius.

With all these different branches of editorial labour, and with so many calls for editorial assistance, can we wonder that so much has been done for writings precious as these.

The quality of what has been done is another question. No doubt this varies. There is what is eminently good and useful; no one possessed of common honesty will deny this; and there is also what might be expunged without remorse, and no harm done to the author, the reader, or the critic. But it is of the amount that we are now speaking, and that cannot but be, as it is and as it ought to be, large. When the annotation is good and useful, I for one should never think of complaining of the amount, not even if Shakespeare were printed like one of the classics in an old edition, where in a

folio page we have two lines of text, and the rest of the page occupied with the remarks of scholiasts and critics printed in a much smaller type; provided, I say, that the matter is relevant and valuable, not the merely pedantic "*deleatur d, alii legunt sic, meus codex sic habet,*" which the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* so happily ridicules as the work of "a company of foolish note-makers, who thus make books dear, themselves ridiculous, and do nobody good." Let the notes be but pertinent and useful, and we cannot have too many of them. But then they must be really pertinent and in some way or other serviceable, written for the sake of the author and the reader, not for the gratification of the pedantry or the love of display of the writer, nor wandering too far from the author, whose subjects are so various that there is scarcely anything for which an excuse might not be found for obtruding it upon his margin.

Let there be one such edition at least for scholars and students, not to the exclusion of the smaller volumes in which we have the text, or the text and little more, for simple recreation only.

Allusion has been made to the value of the annotation which has been bestowed on Shakespeare's writings. Whether it has fully satisfied the just expectation that might have been formed has been questioned, and very harsh things have been said of it. For my own part, it seems to me that it would be to do the old commentators very great injustice were we not to acknowledge that they have done much in every one of the departments of legitimate criticism; and that much

of what they have done is extremely well done; that their research has been most extensive and profound; the result of that research exhibited with great accuracy; that much care and attention has been bestowed upon the regulation of the text, and that there have been many most admirable conjectures where the text has come down to us corrupted. They have their share of errors and mistakes; they have their redundancies and deficiencies; but we owe them infinite obligations, as all ought to confess who wish to understand these writings, but especially they who aspire to be themselves critics, commentators, or editors. It is not going a step too far to assert that there are many things which no diligence and no acumen of any person who at this late period enters the Shakesperian field would have detected for himself; in other words, that many of the most valuable illustrations which these writings have received would have been at this hour as if they were not, had they not been presented to us by the force and genius of the old commentators. I bear them this testimony the more cordially, because I perceive a disposition abroad to undervalue their labours. It is the old story: blotting out old names on the wall of the Temple of Fame, and writing new ones over them.

But take any recent edition; remove from it all that is borrowed from the old Editors; collect everything that is really new, and how insignificant a contribution it is. The field has evidently been well laboured. If from what is done at home we turn to the labours of the men of other countries who have paid their homage to this great Poet, how every

thing upon which the mind can settle in the opinion that here is an advance made in our knowledge of these writings, is found on examination to be but the echo of the voice of some critic at home.

A few slips there are, perhaps many, even in the labours of the critics which have been admitted into the Variorum. But what of this? Is there any great body of criticism in which oversights are not to be found? *Non ego offender paucis maculis*. They were original inquirers, possessed with the honest purpose of devoting themselves to the illustration of writings on which it is said that no small portion of the nation's literary reputation depends; they brought a reasonable share of judgment, learning, and industry, and they have done good service.

That they have left something to be discovered by those who follow them, is evident. If it were not so, there would have been no room for the present work, which is, throughout, supplementary to their labours. The subject, indeed, is so extensive, that there is no person who pays much attention to the history and literature of the period in which Shakespeare lived, and at the same time has his mind in some degree imbued with the language, thoughts, and subjects of his writings, who might not add something that was valuable to the mass of annotation already accumulated; and it is to be desired that those whose minds are directed to the literature and history of the Elizabethan period would remember that the writings of this great poet are most especially worthy of their attention.

This work has been prepared under the impression that I was to consider it as being so much new matter added to the stock of Shakesperian criticism, and I have, perhaps, too scrupulously forbore in most cases, when it was not necessary for the just and full evolution of my meaning, to notice the opinions of other commentators on passages which I have attempted to illustrate. I wish to presume that the reader is not unacquainted with much that has been done; even that he is familiar with the notes in the Variorum. Where they end I may be said to begin. It may be proper to add, that when I speak of the Variorum it is of the edition in twenty-one volumes, prepared for the most part by Mr. Malone, but carried through the press by his friend Mr. Boswell, after the death of Mr. Malone. Like the first folio, it has some of the disadvantages of a posthumous publication.

In a work of original criticism like this there will be some things, perhaps many, which will not meet with immediate assent. There is, however, in these volumes hardly anything presented to the public but after long consideration, and the mind having been repeatedly directed upon the idea, for there is very little which was not written down many years ago, making part of a collection, not inconsiderable, for the lives and writings of the poets and verse-writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; so that what does not at first command assent, may ask for consideration from other minds before it is finally dismissed. In making these collections, how often have I been struck with the thought, how difficult it is to recover new facts even in the lives of

men great as Shakespeare or Milton ; and how many Englishmen there are who did good service in their day and generation who are now nearly forgotten by their countrymen.

That, in common with the best of the commentators on the writings of this great poet, I shall be found to have my share of errors and misconceptions, is most probably the case. I am quite prepared to hear of them, to acknowledge, and correct them. My object is simply that these writings, in some points now misapprehended, shall be more justly understood ; and I hope thus to do something to enlarge at least the harmless pleasures of my countrymen, and to support the honour and reputation of a great author. The mistakes and misapprehensions will float on the surface, and be easily skimmed off by the unkindly critic, or they will sink to the bottom, and be for ever lost : while there will still be something good and useful which may secure a place for a new name in some future *VARIORUM*.

THE CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

I.—PROLUSIONS GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL ON THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, AND OTHER FAMILIES CONNECTED WITH HIM, p. 1.

	Page
THE SHAKESPEARES	1, 44, 52
THE ARDENS	33
THE HARTS	45
THE HATHAWAYS	48
THE COMBES	87
THE QUINEYS	91
THE HALLS	94
THE NASHES	101
THE BERNARDS	103

II.—THE COMEDIES, p. 121.

THE TEMPEST	123
THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA	190
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR	198
MEASURE FOR MEASURE	221
THE COMEDY OF ERRORS	225
MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING	227
LOVE LABOURS LOST	256
A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM	282
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE	299
AS YOU LIKE IT	331
THE TAMING OF THE SHREW	351
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	359
TWELFTH NIGHT	365
A WINTER'S TALE	412

I.

PROLUSIONS
GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL
ON
THE FAMILY OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
AND
OTHER FAMILIES CONNECTED WITH HIM.

*
PROLUSIONS
ON THE
FAMILY OF SHAKESPEARE, &c.

THE SHAKESPEARES.

THE surname Shakespeare binds together in bonds of consanguinity a tribe of Englishmen, who, for the most part, have affected only the commonest names in the English vocabulary, John, Thomas, William, and Richard. This cannot be said of surnames in general. It is the *peculiarity* of the surname Shakespeare which creates a presumption that all of the name are of the same lineage, almost equal to the certainty which historical evidence for each particular link would produce. The name we may presume to have been first adopted in the reign of King Edward the Third, when persons in the middle ranks of life began to be sensible to the convenience of having an invariable adjunct to what is properly the *name*, which should be common to every individual of the lineage. It does not occur in many copious lists of surnames of Englishmen of the period before that reign; and it does occur in the reign of King Henry the Fourth.

During the fifteenth century our means of arriving at genealogical knowledge are very imperfect, when the sub-

ject of inquiry is a family in whom there inhered neither dignities nor large estates. The difficulty continues in full force till the time of the institution of parish registers. We know something of the Shakespeares in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and following centuries ; but still, as a family, it is but little that has been recovered concerning' them. They have never had an antiquary of their own to arrest the fleeting facts of their history, and they have never risen to a distinction which led to the searching out their descent by public officers, and the recording it in the genealogical registers of the realm. The great mass of the family are among those who are remembered in the offices of the ancient Christian church as the 'forgotten dead.' Even that great problem of all, to determine the grandfather of the poet, has never yet been solved, and the reader may be warned *in limine* that he will find nothing more on that subject than an approximation to the truth, in the ensuing pages.

The Shakespeares have been of that rank only which gives monks to the monasteries, ministers to the church, and officers to the army ; respectable, but not great. One member of the family has in recent times gained honourable distinction in an unfrequented walk of literature, and that is all. Yet is this race distinguished and adorned by one name, which is pre-eminent above every name, and the proudest house of Englishmen might be glad to attract to themselves the glories which will for ever encircle the name of—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

There is something so peculiar in the name, that it must have been adopted originally on some very peculiar suggestion. We want a good book on the English Personal Nomenclature. The chapter in Camden's Remains is almost every thing we have, but it is hardly worthy of so great a man. The notes in Verstegan's *Restitution of decayed Intel-*

ligence, are less valuable still. Among the few names which both have noticed, is Shakespeare, led to do so, as is probable, by the fame of the poet, to whose father Camden had, in his character of Clarencieux King of Arms, lately concurred in a grant of the insignia of gentry. "Some," says Camden, "are named from what they commonly carried, as *Palmer*, that is pilgrim, for that they carried palme when they returned from Hierusalem; *Long-sword*, *Broad-spear*, *Fortescue*, that is, Strong-shield; and in some such respect, *Break-speare*, *Shakespeare*, *Shotbolt*, *Wagstaff*."* This does not satisfactorily answer any of the three questions which arise in considering a surname, (1) whether it were *adopted* in the first instance, or *imposed*; (2) what is the real meaning of the word; and (3) how that meaning can be made congruous with the use of it by an individual or a family as the designation under which they are to pass. That it was given or assumed without a reason, and without some propriety, is an inadmissible presumption here as it is concerning words in the whole field of philology: and yet it is hard to say how the circumstance that he *shook a spear* can have given a name to any person. Zachary Bogan, a writer of the seventeenth century, who was struck with the singularity of so celebrated a surname, says, "that it is equivalent to soldier," which, if really so, would account very satisfactorily for it as a family designation: "The custom first, *παλλειν*, to vibrate the spear before they used it, was so constantly kept, that *εγχεσπαλος*, a *shake-speare*, came at length to be an

* *Remains concerning Britain*, 4to. 1629, p. 107.—To these names might have been added *Shakeshaft*, which seems to be of the same mintage. It occurs not unfrequently as the surname of persons in the counties of Warwick and Worcester. A Walter de Shakenshaft was Sheriff of Worcestershire under the Earl of Warwick, in the 15th of Edward the Third. A Manrice *Drauesword* appears in the reign of Edward the Second.

ordinary word, both in Homer and other poets, to signify a soldier."* What we want is evidence that *shake-spear* was used in England as a familiar word for a soldier, and that cannot, I apprehend, be produced.

There has been endless variety in the form in which this name has been written. I can vouch for the following forms, all taken from writings of nearly the poet's own age, and those not the mere scrawls of rude and uneducated persons, but for the most part traced by the pens of professional scribes, or at least by persons who paid as much attention to uniformity of orthography as any of their neighbours: but, in truth, uniformity in the orthography of proper names was in those times not thought of, nor aimed at.

Schaksper—Schakesper—Schakespeyr.

Shagspere.

Shaxter—Shaxpere—Shaxpeare—Shaxsper—Shaxspere—Shaxespere.

Shakspere—Shakspear—Shakspeare—Shackspeare—Shackespeare—Shackespere—Shakspeyr.

Shakesper—Shakespere—Shakeseper—Shakyspere—Shakespire—Shakespeire—Shakespear—Shakaspeare.

They are all manifestly of the same type, and to these varieties others might be added. In two instances I have met with the name written *Saxpere*. An Oliver Saxpere was a tenant of the honour of Ampthill in the time of King Charles the First; and in the parish-register of St. Nicholas, Warwick, is the following entry among the burials:—"1579. Junii; sexto die hujus mensis sepultus fuit Gulielmus Saxpere, qui demersus fuit in rivulo aquæ qui vel quæ vocatur Avona:"—a William Shakespeare drowned in the Avon, a

* *Archæologia Attica*, by Francis Rous, with Additions by Zachary Bogan, scholar of C. C. C. in Oxon. 5th edit. 4to. 1658, p. 324.

few miles from Stratford, when the poet was in the sixteenth year of his age.*

We may discern through these varieties of orthography, that there were in the poet's time three modes of pronouncing the name. First, that which is presented to the mind by the word *Shaksper*: (2) that in which the first syllable is short, being pronounced as if there was no medial *e*; but the second syllable is lengthened into *spere* or *spear*: and (3) the form which the poet used in his printed works, with or without an hyphen, *Shakespeare*. It is no unreasonable conjecture that there was a rustic and a courtly mode. The poet himself might be called by his honest neighbours at Stratford and Shottery, Mr. Shaxper, while his friends in London honoured him, as we know historically they did, with the more stately name of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare or *Shakespear* kept its ground as the received and proper orthography of the poet's name till the time of the two very eminent commentators Steevens and Malone. In an evil hour they agreed, for no apparent reason, to abolish the *e* in the first syllable, so that if the orthography is to represent the pronunciation or the pronunciation to be conformable with the orthography, the name should be pronounced as in the second of the three modes above mentioned. A contemporary critic of inferior note in 1785 introduced another variation. In his hands the name became *Shakspere*, with the object, no doubt, of bringing back the orthography to the form in which the name is said to be found traced by the poet's own hand† in his

* I must not omit to acknowledge, were it only that I might express publicly my regret for the recent loss of so excellent a genealogist, that I owe my acquaintance with this entry in the Warwick Register to the kindness of Mr. G. F. Beltz, the late Lancaster Herald.

† The critic here alluded to is Mr. Pinkerton, the author of a work entitled, *Letters on Literature*, by Robert Heron, Esq. 8vo. 1785. There are several

will and in other writings. It is a poor ambition which seeks distinction by changes such as these, in which there is manifested neither labour nor genius. If we must have innovations on established forms of writing or speech, let them, at least, bring with them the proofs of reflection, and the stamp of mind. Yet Pinkerton has not wanted those who have fallen by the same temptation to which he yielded. It is sufficient for the support of the old orthography, that Shakespeare or Shakespear was the poet's own way of *printing* his name; but, it may be added, that his name appears thus in the printed writings of his friends and contemporaries almost every where, Camden, Jonson, Heminge, and others: who, indeed, till very recent times, ever thought of printing the name *Shakspeare*? But print it as we may, with the first syllable long, or the first syllable short, we must pronounce that syllable long, if we would not destroy much of the fine poetry in which the name is embalmed:

Renowned Chaucer lie a thought more nigh
To learned Spenser, and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spenser, to make room
For Shakespeare in your three-fold, four-fold tomb.

Can any ear be so unmusical as not to perceive that in the last of these singular lines we require a grave syllable in the second place?*

Letters containing various criticisms on passages of Shakespeare. He prints the name every where *Shakspeare*. I have used a qualified expression when speaking of the signatures to the will. Respecting one or two of them it would not, I think, be safe to affirm any thing very positively. In the body of the will itself the name is written in a quite different orthography.

* The lines are part of Basse's Epitaph. I quote them rather than many others which present themselves, for the sake of the transposition of the names of Chaucer and Spenser, which is in part on the authority of a copy in a nearly contemporary hand in a manuscript at the British Museum, Harl. 1749, but with some corrections, the copy being in some respects faulty, but giving us what is clearly the true reading in 'Renowned Chaucer.' They are usually printed 'Renowned Spenser,' &c.; but 'renowned' suits better with Chaucer, and his contemporaries delighted to speak of Spenser as the learned poet:

Can any one doubt how Jonson meant the name to be pronounced when he wrote

To draw no envy, Shakespeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book and fame.

Or he who wrote in a noble rivalry of Jonson, and whose still undetected incognito is one of the greatest reproaches to the antiquaries of English poetical criticism,*

This—and much more which cannot be expressed
But by himself, his tongue, and his own breast,—
Was Shakespeare's freehold.—

Or take the better known lines of Milton :

What! needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in piled stones.

But we may ask the advocates of the orthographies which have been propounded as to supersede that to which the public eye was long accustomed, whether any of the poets who have sought to express their devotion to him, the greatest of them all, had any other idea than that their lines should be read with both syllables in their lengthened sound?

Enough has now been said on this subject; and I shall dismiss it for ever with one remark. We are not to look to the

Above the rest so happy maist thou be;
For learned Colin lays his pipes to gage,
And is to Fayrie gon a pilgrimage:
The more our moan.

Drayton's Third Eclogue.

* The signature is J. M. S. 'Jasper Mayne, Student' is the received explanation; but it may be questioned whether he was equal to the production of them, though there are verses of his, inferior indeed, but not very unlike them. They could not be Milton's. I have heard 'Master John Selden' as a conjecture, and there are some probabilities attending it. Mr. Boaden wrote an elegant criticism upon these lines, and in assigning them to their author he treats the signature as a mere blind, and boldly asserts that they are Chapman's. There were many verse writers of the period, the initial letters of whose names were J. M. but they are all obscure men except Mayne and Milton; and he could have been no common person who produced this noble tribute to the memory and name of Shakespeare.

private manuscript of any person of those times as the guide to the mode in which a name should be written by ourselves when we possess *printed evidence* tolerably uniform from the person himself, and his contemporaries ;—unless, indeed, we are prepared to unsettle all the established orthography of English names. Shall Lady Jane Grey become Lady Jane *Graye*, yet it is certain that she wrote her name thus? Shall the Dudleys become *Duddeleys*, or the Cromwells *Crumwells*? These are but a very few of the distinguished names of the Elizabethan period which would fall before the scythe of such innovation.*

Research or good fortune may hereafter bring to light earlier instances of the name; but the first that has presented itself to me is of the year in which Thomas Shepeye and Henry Wilkoc were bailiffs of Coventry, which was, I believe, in the reign of Henry the Fourth. They account into the Exchequer for two shillings for the goods and chattels of Thomas Shakespere ‘merc’. (which appears to be an abbreviation of *mercario*) who being indicted of felony had fled. No very satisfactory commencement of the history of a family; but this piece of evidence serves as well as a better to prove the existence of the name, to exhibit something of the quality in which the party lived, and to shew that the family, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, were seated in the county in which we find them afterwards living, and in that particular part of it, the Arden district, where the name was afterwards most frequent. Coventry may then be taken as, according to our present knowledge, the original *habitat* of the Shakespeares, and it was perhaps among the citizens

* I notice with great pleasure that a stand is being made in defence of the true orthography by Mr. Collier, in his Edition of the Works, who gives the poet his name in its fair proportions *Shakespeare*, and the Society of which he is the Director calls itself the Shakespeare Society.

of that antient city that the name arose which has since been so celebrated.

Shakespeare, we know, his race of honour and profit run, returned to end his days in the town in which he was born ; and in the search for the name in early times I have scarcely found it any where except in the southern parts of Warwickshire and the adjacent parts of the counties of Worcester and Gloucester ; so that it seems as if the family in general had felt in early times a strong affection for their native soil. Wide negative assertions it is neither safe nor wise to make, but I may state that, as far as my own knowledge at present extends, there had been no permanent settlement of Shakespeares at the beginning of the sixteenth century any where else, except that there were some persons of the name in the country about Derby and Mansfield, of whom were Richard Shakespcr, one of the persons to whom Dame Cecily Flogan conveyed lands for public uses at Mansfield at the very beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and Peter Schakespeare, who, in the 36th of that reign, was among the inhabitants of that town, and John Shakespere, who was living at the same time in the ward or dosenry of the Sadlegate at Derby. In the reign of Elizabeth there was not, I have reason to think, any other person of the name of Shakespeare living in London, besides the poet and a John Shaksperc, who in 1600 lived in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields. In the reign of Philip and Mary a John Shakespere was rector of Fliford, in the diocese of Worcester ; and among the monks who were expelled from the monastery of Bordesley in that diocese, we find the name of a Roger Shakespere, to whom was granted an annuity of one hundred shillings during life.

The earliest will of any person of the name which is now to be found in the Register Office at Worcester is of the year 1539. The testator is a Thomas Shaksperc. He desires to

be buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas at Alcester before our Lady Chantry, and he bequeaths 3*s.* 4*d.* to the church. He seems to have died in early life, as both his parents were living, Richard his father and Margaret his mother, to each of whom he leaves twenty shillings. He gives the same sum to Alexander Fox, his wife's son, and the remainder of his property to his wife Margaret and his son William, who was then under years of discretion. The rector of Alcester, Sir William Denton, is a witness, and it was proved not long after the date, at Stratford on Avon, in the chapel of the Holy Trinity there, before Rowland Taylor, LL.D. Commissary of Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, both afterwards Protestant martyrs.

The Richard Shakspeare mentioned in this will, is probably the person of that name who occurs in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of the 26th of King Henry the Eighth, as bailiff to the nuns of the neighbouring priory of Wroxhall, and collector of their rents, with a fee of 40 shillings a year. This answers to the year 1534. The bailiffship of a monastery was an office of great respectability; and, the lands being often large, one of no small local influence. It appears also by accounts of Agnes Lyde, the late prioress, now in the Augmentation Office, that Richard Shakspeare was a tenant of the monastery also. He held a cottage with its appurtenances, in the lordship of Wroxhall, in 1536; and was tenant jointly with Richard Wodham of three crofts and a grove in Hasseley, demised by indenture under the common seal, on June 1, in the 15th of Henry the Eighth, 1523-4.

In that year Richard Shaksper was living at Wroxhall, and was assessed on goods of the value of 40 shillings to the subsidy then granted. In the 37th of that reign, 1545-6, he appears to have been dead, his name not being found in the Subsidy Roll, but three other Shakespeares are assessed

on small sums at Wroxhall, all of whom were named William. One appears to have been of better substance than the rest, William Shaxespere, he being assessed on the sum of 6*l*.

A William Shakespere, as well as Richard, appears among the customary tenants late of the nuns of Wroxhall, in the 28th of Henry the Eighth, 1536-7: and a John Shackspere, then deceased, had held a tenement or messuage in Wroxhall, with an orchard and five crofts, which had been demised in the 24th of that reign to Alice Taylor of Hanwell, in the county of Oxford, spinster. A later John Shakespere was tenant of the lands at Hasseley or Haseler, which had been demised to Richard Shakespere and Richard Woodham, in the 15th of Henry the Eighth: but this John, in the 36th of Henry the Eighth, 1544-5, is spoken of as late tenant. In that year, the site of the monastery of Wroxhall, with the rectory, and much of its possessions, were granted by the crown to Robert Burgoine and John Scudamore, and so became the principal seat of the Burgoine family. From that time therefore we lose the benefit of any further public accounts of the Shakespeares who lived at Wroxhall.

Of all the Shakespeares of whom we can recover any notices, it appears to me that these Shakespeares of Wroxhall have the best claim to be considered the progenitors of the Shakespeares of Stratford upon Avon. The father of the poet, who was born before the general institution of parish-registers, and was the first of the name settled at Stratford, has hitherto eluded all attempts at affiliation, and it is to be feared that anything beyond a high probability is not now to be attained. I state, not as meaning by any means that it should be implied that I regard the evidence to be otherwise than that of a probability more or less cogent, that the poet's father, John Shakespeare, of Strat-

ford, was son of a William of Wroxhall, and grandson of the Richard Shakespeare who was the tenant of the nuns of Wroxhall, and at the time of the dissolution the bailiff of their estates.

I state this only as being what appears to me the most reasonable presumption, after some attention to the faint traces of their path in life, which the Shakespeares of those generations have left behind them in the country, which however we do certainly know, by the testimony of the Heralds, to have been the seat of the ancestors of the poet.

If I may be allowed to point the attention of the Warwickshire antiquaries to a possible source of further information on this subject, I would suggest the Court Rolls, if such exist, of the manor of Wroxhall, and generally the evidences respecting Wroxhall and its vicinity, which originated after the grant to the Burgoines, and which may still remain in the hands of the family. The original position of John Shakespeare, of Stratford, his early claim to the distinction of coat-armour, and his marriage in that neighbourhood to the daughter of Robert Arden, a gentleman of worship, all indicate that he was sprung of persons who were of some consideration, and yet of all the Shakespeares in that neighbourhood of whom we can obtain any account, those of Wroxhall appear to have been the only family who were a little elevated above the ordinary level. Nor in this uncertainty is there any thing peculiar. Where wills are not existing, when parish registers were not, where there are no monumental inscriptions, if our inquiries relate to families with whose affairs the escheators did not intermeddle, we must often be content with probabilities only, which can but by some fortunate chance, on which there is no previous calculation, be converted into certainties. I add, as strengthening the

probability, that John Shakespeare, of Stratford, gave the two Wroxhall names of Richard and William to two of his children.

We find Shakespeares remaining at Wroxhall in the time of Elizabeth and James the First, who appear to have been reduced. John Shaksper, of Wroxhall "laborer," whose will is dated December 17, 1574, desires to be buried in the churchyard of Wroxhall, gives his son Edward half of his goods, to his sister Alice a lamb, to his brother William Shaksper a horse-cloth of medley, and his best shirt. He names his cousin Laurence Shaxper, of Halsall or Balsall, his brother Woodam's children, and his wife Isabel, whom he makes executor. Again, a William Shaxspeare, of Wroxhall, husbandman, made his will April 17, 1609, leaving every thing to one Joan Shrive, except groats to each of his brothers' and sisters' children.

At the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth and in the reign of Edward the Sixth a Shakespeare lived at Packwood, in Warwickshire, whose name was Christopher. There was also at precisely the same period a Ralph Shakespere, and Bridget his wife, mother of Elizabeth Batty, who had lands at Barston and Escott. In the 13th of Elizabeth a Ralph Shakespere, probably the same, was living at Berkswell. There was also a race of Shakespeares at Warwick, the heads of whom were all of the name of Thomas. They are found from the 35th of Henry the Eighth to the 11th of James the First, in which year Thomas Shakespere, 'gentleman,' was bailiff of the town. He was indeed alive as late as the 22d of that reign.

Mr. Malone, or the editor of his posthumous work, has made an important mistake respecting one of the Thomas Shakespeares of Warwick, a shoemaker there; he says, he

died 'possessed of the lordship of Balsall.'^{*} This would have raised him above the ordinary level, and would have been a very singular circumstance, considering what was his occupation; but I have seen the will, from which Mr. Malone quotes, and instead of shewing that he possessed the lordship of Balsall, it shews only that he had lands in that lordship: 'My wife Agnes to have her free bench of my lands in the lordship of Balsall.' This will was made in 1577. He had a daughter Joan, who was married to Francis Ley, and three sons, William his eldest, who was no doubt the William Saxspere who was drowned in the Avon at Warwick in 1579, Thomas who continued at Warwick, and John who seems to have been the John Shakespeare the shoemaker of Stratford, contemporary with John Shakespeare, the poet's father, an identity of name among the inhabitants of Stratford, which contributes something to the uncertainty which rests upon the history of the poet's immediate ancestor.

There was another branch of the family of Shakespeare seated at Rowington, a village about three miles from Stratford. Of these Shakespeares Mr. Malone has collected and preserved many particulars. But they were at Rowington long before the period at which his notices of them commence, and the æra of the first known Shakespeare of Row-

^{*} *Boswell's Malone*, 8vo. 1821, vol. ii. p. 19.—This work lies under the disadvantage of being a posthumous publication, and the *Life* is no more than an unfinished piece. It is due to the memory of a man who devoted many years to the study and illustration of the *Life and Writings* of this great Poet, and who has done so much substantial service for him, to keep this fact before the public, for this is only one of several such oversights which might be pointed out. How much is due to Malone's industry and felicity in this department, may be seen by comparing with his, later accounts of the *Life of Shakespeare*. They are all rich in information in the parts which correspond to those of which Malone has written, as they are poor where Malone's narrative, if ever written, is not now to be found.

ington corresponds with that of Richard, the bailiff of the nuns of Wroxhall, and probably begins a little before it. This is certain, that in the 15th of Henry the Eighth, 1523-4, there were two John Shakespers living at Rowington, and as one of them is styled 'junior,' it seems that they stood in the relation of father and son. The son must have been grown up and a housekeeper, as he is assessed to the subsidy of that year on goods of the value of forty shillings, the goods of the elder John being valued at £6. In another similar document in the Exchequer, the date of which is lost, he is styled 'senior,' and his goods are estimated at £7. On the whole the birth of this person may be carried back to the reign of Edward the Fourth. In the 34th of Henry the Eighth, 1542-3, on a fall of timber in the lordship of Rowington, John Shaxspere bought 120 lopps, and Richard Shaxspere 15 lopps. Three years later there were four persons of the name of Shakespeare living at Rowington and chargeable to the subsidy. Their names were John, Thomas, Richard, and Laurence. These persons were all antecedent to the Shakespeares of Rowington of whom Mr. Malone speaks, and lived at the period most material in an inquiry into the descent of the poet.

There is even at Worcester an earlier will of a Shakespeare of Rowington than any of those consulted by Mr. Malone, and it shews the quality of this branch of the Shakespeare family perhaps better than any thing which he has told us. It is the will of 'Richard Shakyspere, of the parish of Rowington, weyver,' and bears date June 15, 1560. He desires to be buried in the churchyard of Rowington; he gives a 'weyving-loom' to his son William Shakyspere, 6*s.* 8*d.* to each of his daughters, and some trifle to his son Richard, then under twenty-three years of age. He makes his brothers-in-law John Reve and William Reve his executors, who

proved the will June 30, 1561. A Richard Shaxspere was one of the witnesses.

There are some important omissions in Mr. Malone's account of the will of John Shakspere, of Rowington, or Rownton, as it stands in the will, made in 1574. He gives his son Thomas £20, his son George his free land in Shrewley, his daughter Annis 15 marks to her marriage; his aunt Ley, the midwife, is to have a bushel of corn. He speaks of two brothers, named Nicholas and Thomas, and makes his wife Ellinor executor. The inventory of his goods has the total £67. 4s. 6d.

Richard Shakespeare, the elder, of Rowington, whose will, 1591, is also abstracted by Mr. Malone, was a 'turner.' Beside the four sons, John, Roger, Thomas, and William, whom Mr. Malone names, he had a daughter named Dorothy Jenks; and the will of another Richard, of Rowington, made in 1613, supplies other information for the genealogy beside that which is extracted by Mr. Malone, as it gives the names of the four sons of his son Richard, which were Thomas, William, Richard, and John, who were then all under fifteen years of age. This Richard desires to be buried in the church or church-yard of Rowington, a slight indication of some advancement of the family, all before having been content to lie outside the walls of the church.

There is at Worcester another will of a member of this branch of the family, of the same year with the preceding, namely, that of Thomas Shaxsper, of Mowsley End, in Rowington. He desires to be buried in the church or church-yard; he names his wife Annis, his son John, who is to pay £20, due to his (John's) uncle John Scott. He names two other sons, Thomas and Richard, and three daughters, Ellinor, Joan, and Annis, to each of whom he leaves £20.

From the 41st of Elizabeth, 1597-8, to the 22d of James

the First, 1624-5, a Thomas Shakesper, probably the person whose will is just noticed, and his son of the same name, are the only persons assessed to the subsidies at Rowington.

Mr. Malone shews the continuance of Shakespeares at Rowington to his own time; and some years ago various original deeds of the family were offered for sale.

On the whole we may collect from such evidence as remains, that in the half-century before the time when the Shakespeares first appear at Stratford, there were *three* families of the name in that vicinity, *and no more*: others who have been mentioned, seated in other places, appearing to have been rather casual and transient inhabitants than members of a genealogical series of Shakespeares located on the spot. The three families are those of *Wroxhall*, *Warwick*, and *Rowington*, all of whom may be traced back into the period of time when we are to seek for the poet's grandfather, the main object in this inquiry, and all continuing during the time that the poet's father was laying the foundation of another family at Stratford, and even all continuing to exist in the same places during the whole life of him who was giving to the name its imperishable celebrity. In one of these three families the grandfather, whoever he was, is to be found. I have ventured to express my own opinion, that he was of the Shakespeares of Wroxhall. That he was not of the Shakespeares of Warwick is clear; and if of the Shakespeares of Rowington, the Shakespeares of Stratford could hardly have escaped notice in some of their many wills. Yet it must be admitted, that the names of John, William, and Richard occur in the Rowington branch as well as in that which was planted at Wroxhall.

Mr. Malone was unquestionably right when he delivered his opinion, founded on the examination of many documents,

that there was no Shakespeare at Stratford before the settlement in that town of Jolin, the father of the poet. Respecting the precise time when John settled at Stratford he speaks vaguely, thus :—"John Shakespeare, wherever he may have been born, settled at Stratford not very long after the year 1550; for in the middle of the year 1555 a suit was instituted against him in the Bailiff's Court."* It may be more precisely stated thus :—his name does not appear among the persons assessed at Stratford to the payment of the relief granted in the third of Edward the Sixth, 1549–50; but at the Court of our Lord the King for the burgh of Stratford, held on April 29, in the sixth of Edward the Sixth, 1552, we do find his name. So that, unless he was there as a boy, we may without much chance of error fix upon the year 1551 as that in which the family first came to Stratford.

The passage in the Court Roll must be extracted, as there is another fact of some importance to be collected from it. "Item, juratores present. super sacramentum suum quod Humphridus † Reynolds (xiid.), Adrianus Quayney (xiid.), et Johannes Shakyspere (xiid.), fecerunt sterquinarium in vico vocato Hendley Strete contra ordinationes Curie. Ideo ipsi in misericordia." The fact is this: that here we have very probable evidence that John Shakespeare lived, in 1552, in that part of the town known as Henley Street, where is situated the house which, by constant tradition, is said to have been the poet's birth-place. This is the best support ever given to the tradition. He had for his neighbours, Reynolds and Quiney, both persons of the better condition at Stratford, municipal names, and both of families living for a

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 49.

† The name of *Hugh* Reynolds appears so frequently in documents relating to Stratford at this period, that there may be presumed to be in this case a clerical error in the record quoted.

long time on terms of intimacy with the Shakespeares, as may be inferred from a legacy being left by the poet to William Reynolds, and from Shakespeare's daughter, Judith, becoming the wife of Thomas Quiney.

We have the best possible evidence that this John Shakespeare married Mary, daughter and coheirress of Robert Arden, a gentleman who lived at Wilmecote, a village near Stratford; the fact being set forth in the draft of an intended grant of arms to John Shakespeare by Sir William Dethick, Garter King at Arms, in 1596. The precise date of this marriage has never been ascertained; but Mr. Malone's inference from the will of the lady's father seems to be correct, that the marriage had not taken place at the time when the will was made, November 24, 1556. The will was proved on the 17th of December following, and during this interval Robert Arden must have died. The eldest known issue of the marriage was a daughter named Joan, who was baptized at Stratford, on September 15, 1558. The year 1557 may, therefore, with some confidence, be assigned as the year of the marriage, that is, immediately on the lady's entering into possession of the property, which was not inconsiderable, left to her by her father.

I shall speak hereafter of the Ardens, but there is still one point more in the early, or what may be called the antiquarian history of the Shakespeare family, on which something must be said: the supposed grant to an ancestor of John Shakespeare of lands and tenements in Warwickshire, for service rendered to King Henry the Seventh. From 1596 to 1599, which was at a time when Shakespeare was in the plenitude of his fame as a dramatic writer, there were communications between his family and the College of Arms, touching a grant of coat-armour. The application was made on behalf of John Shakespeare the father. There can be no

doubt that a grant was made accordingly, indeed the fact is distinctly stated in official papers, though no formal copy of a grant exists, and we find only three paper drafts, or rather studies for the grant, confusedly written, being all full of corrections and interlined matter.

The first of these is dated in 1596. This is No. 23 of the Manuscript known as 'Vincent,' No. 157. Mr. Malone's copy* is not quite exact; and the clause of which we are speaking ought to have been printed thus:—"Being therefore solicited, and by credible report informed that John Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwick, whose [parents and late] antecessors were for there valeant and faithfull services advaunced and rewarded by the most prudent prince King Henry the Seventh, of famous memorie, sithence which time they have continewed at those parts in good reputation and credit," &c. The words placed in crotchets are interlined.†

This is followed in the same MS. volume by another draft, No. 24, very like the former, but not exactly agreeing with it, having the same date, October 20, in the 38th of Elizabeth. This document is unfortunately imperfect in the clause which is now under consideration; but enough remains to shew that the herald who drew it had no very precise information on the point, for, though it is evident that the gift is referred to King Henry the Seventh, yet the person or

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 541.

† It is extraordinary that Mr. Malone's copy should not contain the clause which follows the word 'margant.' "Signifying hereby that it shalbe lawfull for the said John Shakespeare, gent. and for his children yasse and posterité, at all tymes convenient, to make shewe of and to have blazoned the same achievement on theyre sheeld or cote of arms, [crests, cognizances] escuteheons, seals, rings, signets, penons, guydons, edliffces, utensils, liveries, tombs, and monuments, or otherwise . . . In all lawful warlike facts or civile use and exercises, according to the Lawes of Arms, without lett or interruption of any other person or persons."

persons of the Shakespeare ancestry to whom the grant was made, are spoken of thus:—" . . . parents . . . late antecessors," &c. over which latter word the word "grandfather" is written.

We come now to the third of these drafts, in which Camden Clarendieux is joined with Dethick. This is of the year 1599; so that the business probably was some years under consideration. It is printed by Mr. Malone* from the original, which is in the vol. R. 21, in the Library of the College of Arms. In this we have the same proofs of uncertain or imperfect information respecting the individual to whom the grant was made; but still we have the general assertion that such a grant was made by King Henry the Seventh, and that the lands were in those parts of Warwickshire in which the ancestors of John Shakespeare had lived for some descents in good reputation and credit. I distinguish the interlined matter by placing it within crotchets:—"whose parent [great grandfather] and [late] antecessor, for his faithfull and approved service to the late most prudent prince King Henry 7, of famous memorie, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements given to him in those parts of Warwickshire," &c.

We have now before us the whole evidence of these documents, and, by comparing one with another, we must perceive that there was no clear knowledge on the subject at the time, but that the whole rested on a vague tradition; so that we ought not to wonder that even Mr. Malone's industry and sagacity were foiled when he sought for this royal grant; yet we shall not think it necessary to suppose, as Mr. Malone does, that certain grants to the Ardens and not to the Shakespeares are those to which the heralds

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 342. And again by an oversight of the Editor, at p. 583.

really refer; the construction being plainly in all of them, that the grant had been made to a male ancestor of John Shakespeare. Indeed the object was to give some proof of his own gentility by descent (the Arden connection is treated of apart); and the clauses, vague as they are, do establish a certain degree of probability, that a Shakspeare in the direct line of the poet's ancestry did perform some worthy service to King Henry the Seventh, did receive from him some reward, which reward may have been, as one of the documents distinctly asserts, lands and tenements in those parts of Warwickshire in which the Shakespeares of this part of the family had lived; though no such grant has been found upon record, nor can the possession of any such lands be proved by inquisition, or traced out of the hands of the grantee. The person to whom the grant, whatever it was, was made, must have belonged to the generation next above Richard Shakspeare the bailiff of the nuns of Wroxhall.

The general effect of the information comprised in these documents is, that John Shakespeare, when he settled at Stratford, was a man of some pretension by descent, and this condition I have shown to be better satisfied by connecting him with the Wroxhall Shakespeares than with any other of the lines. His marriage with the coheir of Arden, which, as I shall soon shew, brought him into connection with a family of very ancient gentry in Warwickshire, points to the same conclusion respecting him.

We have another fact to which sufficient attention has not been given, when the inquiry has been into the quality of the family from whom the poet sprung, which shews that, early in life, long before the son had increased the property of the family by his professional exertions, and therefore no way connected with that success, John Shakespeare was in conference with the heralds respecting the arms which he was

entitled to bear; and exhibited a kind of evidence, not to be disregarded, that his progenitors had used coat-armour. This was in 1568-9, at the time when he was bailiff, that is, chief officer, equivalent to mayor, of the town of Stratford. When he applied in 1599 for the grant, he "produced," as the grant expresses it, "this his auncient cote of armes, heretofore assigned to him whilst he was her Majesty's officer, justice and bailiff of that town." The precise effect of this expression is not quite clear. If by "assigned" we are to understand "granted" or "confirmed," what necessity was there for the subsequent grant by Dethick and Camden? We must take "assigned" in some more subdued sense; but, reduce it as we will, we are still forced upon this acknowledgement, that as early as 1569 John Shakespeare was in communication with the heralds respecting the arms which he was entitled to bear; that he produced a figure which he alleged his ancestors had borne; and that there was something more than a mere tacit allowance of his right by descent to use it. This falls very little short of establishing the fact, that he was what, in the language of heraldry, constitutes "a gentleman of blood." *

These heraldic documents are of the utmost importance in these researches: but it is much to be regretted, that when the

* There is a very spirited drawing of the Arms and Crest of Shakespeare in Harl. MS. 6140. f. 45 b. over which is written, "Willism Shakspeare," and there is added, as the authority, "A Patent from William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms." On the same page are the arms which were granted to "M. Drayton, of Warwickshire, Esq." The figure is a Pegasus on a field azure guttée d'eau, with a Mercury's cap for the crest. It is a manuscript of Nicholas Charles, one of the Heralds. It may be added, while on this subject, that Molins, a surgeon in Shoe Lane, who married a daughter of John Florio, the supposed original of Holofernes, had a grant from Sir William Segar, dated August 23, 1644, of a *fer de moulin* azure, on a field ermine, with a water-mill for the crest; and that the arms of Florio were impaled with them, namely, Azure, a mary-gold proper, leaves and stalk argent, and in chief a sun proper.

grant was made there was no registration of what John Shakespeare could so easily have told of his ancestors; and again, that when, in 1619, the Heralds held a Visitation of Warwickshire, and there was such a rush of Stratford people to record their arms and pedigrees, the Shakespeares of that town had then been three years extinct. Had this visitation occurred a very few years earlier, there can be no doubt that Shakespeare would have been found among his friends and neighbours, the Combes, Nashes, Reynolds', Lances, Kempsons, Rutters, Woodward, at the heralds' levées, and that we should have received from his own dictation evidence which would have dispelled all that is vague and uncertain in this inquiry.

Such inquiries may be derided as useless, or decried as administering to a foolish assumption; but this is to take far too narrow a view of them. It may signify little from whom a great man is sprung; and Shakespeare, like ten thousand other men, well or ill descended, owes more to himself than to his ancestors. It is also true, as he himself tells us, that

Nature cannot choose her origin;

and that therefore it is poor matter of unseemly self-satisfaction in any one that he can trace the history of his family, or the possession of property by them, into times more remote than another is able to do. But the reflecting mind will perceive that there is more in it than this; for that the genius and character of every man, great or small, are influenced and moulded very much by the persons to whose hands nature first consigns him; that many which may seem to be the considered opinions of the man, are in reality but the prejudices of birth and family; and that if we would understand the real character and genius of any man, however great, or if we would understand our own, we must know what those ori-

ginal prejudices were; and if the inquiry is meant to be conducted as every one would wish the inquiry to be conducted into the history of such a mind as Shakespeare's, where we have writings, traces of his thought, monuments of that mind, imperishable, that have influenced millions of other minds, and will influence more through a long tract of time to come, we must not rest satisfied with what we can learn of his immediate ancestors only, but see, if possible, from what kind or class of persons they had received their own first impressions, and how their characters had been formed to what they were. We may be often foiled in such researches: in the present case it is not much that can be done; but what can be done ought to be done, and the first step to be taken is this pioneering of genealogical inquiry.

We obtain further information respecting the transaction of 1569 from notes which are appended to the draft in Vincent, 157, No. 24: "This John sheweth a patierne thereof under Clarence Cook's hand in paper xx yeares past." It appears then that the herald with whom on that occasion John Shakespeare communicated, was no other than Robert Cooke, the Clarencieux King at Arms, who was one of the most distinguished members of the college; and that he had given his sanction to the use of the arms so far as to deliver a drawing of them on paper to him.

These arms were no doubt in all respects those which were afterwards more formally assigned to the family: the golden spear with a silver head on a bend sable, laid on a golden field, with a falcon supporting a spear for the crest. They are well known, and require no remark from me. But it seems extraordinary that so little notice has been taken of the motto; the family motto of the poet. It is "*Non sanz droict*," expressive as it seems, in the first instance, of the right of the bearer to display the insignia, beneath which the

scroll was to be placed, but capable also of a more particular application. I am but a "poor player," but I bear these insignia of gentry not without right. This, however, is supposing that the motto was the poet's own choice, which may not have been the case.*

It seems, however, proper to observe that among the complaints which Brook, an ill-natured and envious member of the college, brought against Dethick and the illustrious Camden, one was, that they had not exercised a sound discretion in the grant which they had made. I have not been able to find any copy of Brook's Complaint; but there are in existence several copies of the answer given by the Garter and Clarenceux Kings. From them we learn, 1. That there was an objection taken to the figure, that it was too like the coat of the old Barons Mauley, being in fact the coat of that very ancient house, with the addition only of the spear; to which it is replied, that the same objection might as well be made to Harley, which also resembles Mauley, and that the spear upon the bend is a very "patible difference." 2. To the quality of the person to whom the grant was made. The answer to this is, that he had been a magistrate at Stratford on Avon, a justice of the peace, which can, however, mean no more than that he was a justice of the peace during the year when he was bailiff, and in virtue of that office; further, that he had married a daughter and heir of Arden, and that he was a man of good substance and ability. The notes in Vincent, 157, No. 24, were evidently made with a view to this defence. The sum of £500 is there set down as a valuation in money of the estate of John Shakespeare, a part of which consisted in lands and tene-

* It is remarkable that only a very few years before, Sir John Ferne in his *Glorie of Generositie*, 4to. 1585, a book which was known to Shakespeare, has placed the *Astriones* in very disreputable company. See pp. 313 and 339.

ments. Arden, whose daughter he married, is there styled "a gentleman of worship;" as indeed he was.

An inference which may be drawn from the transactions of John Shakespeare with the heralds at, as we see, different periods of his life, and his having carried to the utmost extent consistent with truth his claim to hereditary gentility, is, that the original prejudices of the poet would be aristocratical, that is, that the influences communicated by his parents would be of that character; and further, that they would be likely to educate him as to them it appeared the heir of a family of some consideration ought to be educated. They appear to have done so, for it is quite clear that he was long enough at a grammar school to have had his mind deeply imbued with classic lore; not to be made a critic or scholar such as Parr or Porson, or even to have had his mind subdued to an acknowledgment of the supreme beauty of the models sent down from long past ages, but to have gained such an acquaintance with the whole range of classic history and fable as may well be deemed extraordinary. And this leads to the question, What really were the circumstances in life of the poet's father?

Mr. Malone, in the course of his researches in records which he found at Stratford, discovered what he thought sufficient evidence to prove that he was in trade, and in fact a glover. The evidence was this. At a court held on June 17, 1555, "Thomas Siche de Arscotte in com. Wigorn. querit^r. versus Johni Shakyspere de Stratford, in com. Warwic. Glover, in plac. quod reddat ei oct. libras, &c." I give the passage exactly as Mr. Malone has given it; and without having had the opportunity of inspecting the original, but having seen the fac-simile of the passage which Mr. Knight has published, it appears to me impossible to withhold our assent from "glover" being the true reading of the contract,

however improbable it may seem that this English word should be introduced in a Latin sentence, when there was the word "chirothecarius" at hand. Whatever weight this may carry with it, it must be allowed to possess; but it is remarkable, that often as his name is found subsequently, it is never again seen with this addition; so that this single entry is the sole evidence for this material fact in his history. It occurs, it will be seen, before his marriage. Possibly this may have been the occupation in which he was at first engaged, and which may have brought him to Stratford. After his marriage he is not found engaged in any branch of manufacturing industry. From that time it would rather appear that he lived on the proceeds of his own and his wife's inherited property, keeping portions of it in his own hands, and perhaps hiring lands of other people, trafficking in the produce, so that he might be called, as Rowe describes him, "a dealer in wool;" in other words, in a quality answering nearly to the modern term, "a gentleman farmer," one who cultivates land for profit, but who does not lose his position of a gentleman by doing so. But whatever he was, living at Stratford, he became a member of the Corporation, and gained such municipal distinctions as Stratford had to give at a period of life unusually early, for he can scarcely have been forty years of age when he served the office of Bailiff of the borough, the highest of all. Mr. Malone thinks that he became afterwards reduced in his circumstances; but his reasoning upon the facts collected by him touching this question appears to me inconclusive. That with a numerous family of children, and with the incumbrance of a Chancery suit, he did not much increase his inherited property, may have been the case; but he cannot have so conducted his affairs that he became decidedly a poor man, when we find him towards the close of life indulging in the luxury of

a formal grant of coat armour, and when the estimate of his property was in round numbers £500, a sum which may be regarded as at least equivalent to £4,000 in these times.

It is said that fresh evidence has recently been discovered at Stratford. This when produced will have its effect upon this question, one way or the other; but taking the facts as they are stated by Mr. Malone, most or all of them seem to admit of easy explanation, without supposing that the father of the poet ever sunk to a state of any thing that could be called poverty, or was ever otherwise than a respectable and respected townsman of Stratford, or neighbouring country gentleman of the second class, one who possessed landed property of his own, and who for above thirty years of his life belonged to the class of those who in modern language would be called past-mayors of the borough, who was fairly entitled to the distinction usually given him in the parish register by the significant mark "Mr." before his name, and who by the heralds was honoured with the addition of "Gentleman," which they would not lightly confer.

His contributions to the poor at the time of the plague of 1564, and afterwards (says Mr. Malone), were small. But there were many who contributed less than his twelve pence, and the Bailiff himself heads the list with no more than 3*s.* 4*d.* In 1578 he mortgaged his estate derived from the Ardens at Wilmecote; but then he had recently bought two houses at Stratford, for which he gave as much money as he raised by the mortgage—£40. In the January of that year he is exempted from contributing to the soldiers which Stratford was to furnish, and in November from a contribution to the poor; but it is not alleged that either of these exemptions is on account of his poverty, which, unless it is very decided indeed, is rarely regarded as sufficient reason for exemption in the case of local assessments. In 1578-9 he is a defaulter,

or at least had not paid at the time when the list was drawn out, in the assessment for arms; but so were Mr. Nash and Mr. Reynolds, whose respectability and wealth are indisputable, and he would not in such a list have appeared with the addition "Mr." withheld from most of the other names, if there had been either disgrace in the non-payment, or decided evidence of utter inability. A verdict against John Shakespeare in the Court of Stratford in 1586, at the suit of John Brown, with the return that he had no goods on which distraint could be made: this on the first view appears to be the strongest fact; but, beside the general improbability, there is at least an equal probability that the person concerning whom there is this return, and against whom a *capias* issued in consequence, was not our John Shakespeare, but John Shakespeare, the shoemaker, who was living at that time at Stratford. Mr. Malone relies more on a schedule of debts owing to Roger Sadler in 1578, appended to Sadler's will. "Item, of Edmund Lambert and Cornish for the debt of Mr. John Shakespeare, £5." I do not see the force of this argument. There were money transactions between Lambert and Shakespeare at that precise period, as we know by the proceedings in the Chancery suit;* and at all events, that a debt owing from one person is to be called for from

* The outlines of this Chancery Suit, as they are to be collected from the bill, answer, and replication, which were all printed by the late body of Commissioners on the Public Records, are these: John and Mary Shakespeare were seised, in right of Mary, of a messuage, &c. at Wilmeccote, which they mortgaged, in 1578, to one Edmund Lambert, of Barton on the Heath, for £40, who took the profits for three or four years. The Shakespeares then tendered the money in discharge of the mortgage; but Lambert refused to receive it unless other monies also due to him from Shakespeare were paid. In this state of things Edmund Lambert died, and his son John succeeded him and kept possession of the premises. John alleged that the mortgage had never been redeemed, and the question seems to have resolved itself into the matter of the tender, whether it had been made and was good or not. There is no trace of any decree. The question was before Sir Thomas Egerton,

others, is no proof that that person was insolvent, or in very mean circumstances. It was in all probability the result of some business arrangement, the particulars of which cannot now be recovered. There then occurs a long interval in which we have no facts from which any inference can be drawn; for Mr. Malone next conducts us to the year 1597, when in his Chancery Bill he describes himself as "a man of very small wealth, and who had very few friends or alliances in the county of Warwick." But are not these very usual words of form in such a document?

His retirement from the corporation in 1586, is no evidence in such a question as this. Mr. Malone says, that he had searched the records of the corporation, and had found that he had not been present at any meeting for the seven preceding years. This carries us back to 1579, at which period it seems that he may have removed from the town, and taken up his abode at Clifford, a village at no great distance; for I have found a John Shaxspere described as of Clifford at that period, among the debtors to the estate of one John Ashwell of Stratford, in a schedule accompanying his will, which is dated August 27, 1578, and proved at Worcester May 14, 1583, and who there is great reason to believe was this John Shakespeare of Stratford.

No will has yet been discovered of John Shakespeare. All we know of him after the grant of arms, is that he was buried at Stratford on September 8, 1601; nor has any will of his widow Mary Shakespeare, originally Arden, been found. She was buried on September 9, 1608, both probably more than seventy years of age. They had lived in wedlock nearly five-and-forty years, and there are eight children the offspring of the marriage, whose admissions by baptism into the Christian Church are on record in the register of the parish church of Stratford; to whom two

more are to be added, who are not in the register, if the information given to Rowe was correct, that the whole number of the children was ten. I need not say that WILLIAM was one of them.

Neither John nor Mary were persons of so much consideration that we may expect to find inquiries on their decease. But it is a subject of fair inquiry, how it happened that among the innumerable inscribed grave-stones in the church and church-yard of Stratford, there is not, nor, as far as we know, ever was there, any memorial for either the father or the mother of the poet. Probably they found interment in the ground outside the walls, where memorials of the dead remain for the most part unnoticed even by the antiquary, and where they soon give place to the claims of following generations, and, like those they cover, are no more seen.

We now for a time leave the Shakespeares, and go to the family which gave us the poet's mother.

THE ARDENS.

Whatever may be thought of the quality of the poet's ancestors on the father's side, there can be no doubt that by the mother's he sprung from families of ancient gentry, and that therefore on that side at least his birth-prejudices would be aristocratic. Robert Arden, his grandfather, was "a gentleman of worship," so declared by the heralds, and admitted by them as a point unquestionable to the distinction of coat armour by descent. The name is sometimes found written *Ardern*; but it seems, as Dugdale asserts of them, that they were indigeni of the country called Arden in Warwickshire, and had their surname from their residence there. The arms as impaled by Shakespeare, in one of the drafts before spoken of, are, in technical language, to be described thus: Gules, three cross-crosslets fitchée or, and a chief of the second. These arms the poet had a right to quarter, as declared in the grant of 1599; but of this right the parties who erected his monument at Stratford, the only place in which we see his arms displayed, did not think proper to give him the benefit.

Robert Arden lived at Wilmecote, which is a hamlet of the parish of Aston Cantlow, or Aston Cantlupe, a few miles north-west of Stratford. He died in 1556, at which time he had, at least, two marriageable daughters; so that the time of his own birth was not much later than the year 1500, and as we have no means of ascertaining his age when he married, it might be earlier. We are here without the assistance of parish registers, monuments, or inquisitions; but the Subsidy Rolls lately disinterred from the perishing beds of old Exchequer documents, present us with both a Thomas and a Robert Arden living at Wilmecote in the 15th of Henry

the Eighth, 1523-4, who are each assessed upon goods of the value of 10*l*. In the 38th of that reign, 1546-7, Thomas Arden was living, if not at Wilmecote, yet in the parish of Aston Cantlow, and was assessed on lands valued at forty shillings per annum. The reader may be cautioned against smiling at the smallness of these sums.

Now with these facts before us, let there be compared the clause in the will of a John Arden, as cited by Malone,* who is described in the Arden pedigrees as "Esquire for the body to Henry the Seventh," and who is the well-known ancestor of a very eminent Warwickshire family, "Item, I will that my brothers Thomas, Martin, and Robert have their fees during their lives." Let any one observe the date of this will, which is June 4, 1526, and bear in mind that Robert Arden of Wilmecote was a "gentleman," and entitled to the same coat-armour which this testator John Arden used, and he may be disposed to come to the conclusion that the Thomas and Robert Arden of Wilmecote of 1524, are the two brothers of those names mentioned in the will, and that this Robert, or another Robert, the son of Thomas or Robert, is the Robert Arden of Wilmecote who made his will in 1556, and left a good amount of property to his youngest daughter Mary Arden, one of his coheirresses, who in the next year became the wife of John Shakespeare.

There is what would appear to be a confirmation of this opinion in a mark of cadency in the arms of Arden of Wilmecote as impaled with the coat of Shakespeare in the heralds' draft. It is the martlet, the distinctive mark of a fourth son, and it would seem according to the arrangement of the names of his three younger brothers by John Arden the testator of 1526, that Robert was the fourth son of his father.

It is remarkable that the pedigrees of Arden of Warwick-

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 33.

shire are so incomplete. We know with certainty from the will of John that he had the three brothers Thomas, Martin, and Robert, and yet in the best pedigree of Arden which I have been able to find, namely one which is inserted in the Harleian copy of the visitation of Warwickshire by Lennard and Vincent in 1619,* only Martin of all the brothers of John is mentioned, with his daughter and heir whom Thomas Gibbons married. He was of Dichley, in Oxfordshire.

This pedigree presents us with the names of the parents of John and Martin, and consequently, as we may believe, of Robert, the Arden of Wilmecote, or his father. They were Walter Arden and Eleanor his wife, daughter of John Hampden, of Hampden in Buckinghamshire.† We thus bring the poet by descent on the mother's side from the more ancient gentry of the midland counties, both the Hampdens and the Ardens having formed extensive alliances among the old feudal families of their respective counties. In fact, having once got into such lines as those there is no limit to the extent to which genealogical research might be carried, and with well-proved results.

But though we owe nothing to the heralds for the line of Arden of Wilmecote beyond the assertion that they were gentlemen of worship, and entitled to the ancient arms of Arden, we receive at their hands very valuable information respecting the descendants of John Arden, the esquire of the body to King Henry the Seventh. They were seated at a place called Park-hall, which is in Hemlingford Hundred, in

* Harl. 1167, f. 57, 58. Compare also Harl. 6832, f. 384.

† Much has been said of late of the poet's descent from the Hampdens; but it is remarkable that in the pedigree of Arden, in Harl. 1110, f. 24, the wife of Walter is said to have been a daughter of William Brashbridge, of Kilsbury, in co. Warwick, Esquire. The same remark, however, concerning descent from ancient gentry would apply whether the marriage were with Hampden or Brashbridge. Walter's children are there said to be John, Martin, Robert, and Henry. The Arden pedigree it is manifest wants a great deal of examination.

Warwickshire. John was succeeded by a son named Thomas, who was aged forty at the time of his father's death, 1526. This Thomas married a daughter of Sir Thomas Andrew of Charwelton in Northamptonshire, and had a son named William who by Elizabeth his wife, a daughter of Edward Conway of Arrow, esq. had a son and heir named Edward, who was a minor at his father's death.

In this Edward the greatness of the Ardens of Park-hall suffered a temporary eclipse, and was well nigh extinguished. He was charged, together with his son-in-law John Somerville, with treasonable practices. Somerville put himself to death in Newgate, but poor Edward Arden was executed in Smithfield on February 20, 1583. Dugdale insinuates that they were both objects of suspicion and dislike to the Earl of Leicester, and that to this their ruin is to be attributed. Though the lapse of time must have worn away the affectionate sympathy of relatives, and it may be probable that personal communication had ceased, this event occurring to the chief of her house could not be looked upon with indifference by Mary Arden the poet's mother; and the poet himself, who was then in his twentieth year, could not but share in whatever feelings of pity, sorrow, and indignation disturbed on that occasion the mind of his mother.

Edward Arden married a daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, and had daughters married into the great Warwickshire families of Devereux, Somerville, and Shuckborough. He had also a son, Robert Arden, who recovered Park-hall, and was living there in 1621. From him several Ardens descended; and in the female line the persons are innumerable who descend from these Ardens, and who are thus, it may be said, participators of the blood which flowed in the poet's veins.

The family from whom the poet's mother derived her descent on the maternal side, is not at present known; for

Agnes Arden, the sister of Alexander Webb, who has hitherto been regarded as her mother, I shall soon shew to have been only a second, or later wife of the father, and not the mother of his daughter. Nor, supposing, as is probably the case, that there was another generation, interposed between Robert the poet's grandfather, and Walter who married the daughter of Hampden, have we information of the wife, who in that case would be the grandmother of Mary Arden.*

Mr. Malone has printed the will of this Robert Arden,† the poet's grandfather, who describes himself as of Wilmecote. It is dated November 24, 1556. He gives to his youngest daughter Mary, all his lands in Wilmecote, called Asbyes, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in money; to his daughter Alice, the third part of his goods; to his wife Agnes, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* on condition that she suffer his daughter Alice quietly to enjoy half his copyhold lands in Wilmecote during her widowhood; and if she do not, then to have no more than 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and her jointure in Snitterfield. The residue he gives "to his other children," without naming them; and, indeed, from the general tenor

* That those grants to Arden, which Mr. Malone has published, belong to Arden of Wilmecote may be doubted, till some more decisive evidence is produced. We find Ardens at Wilmecote in the reign of Henry the Eighth, but it is little more than we know concerning them. Their relative importance, however, among the inhabitants of the parish of Aston Cantlow may be judged of by the following list of the persons who were assessed there to the subsidy, in the 37th of Henry the Eighth, March 10, 1546. They stood, it will be seen, in the very first rank among the inhabitants of that parish; and may, therefore, be supposed to have had a fortune suitable to a junior and not very remote branch of one of the eminent families of the county. The sums annexed to the names are those on which the parties were assessed.

Robert Ardren, £10.
Walter Edkyns, £10.
John Jenks, £6.
John Skarlett, £8.
Thomas Dixon, £8.
Roger Knight, £8.
Richard Ingram, £6.

Thomas Gretwyn, £5.
Margaret Scarlett, £5.
Richard Edkyns, £6.
Robert Fulwoode, £5.
Nicholas Gibbes, £5.
Richard Green, £5.
William Hill, £5.

† *Boswell's Malons*, vol. ii. p. 538.

of the will, it might almost be concluded that there were no other children except Alice and Mary. The two daughters, Alice and Mary, are made executors, and Adam Palmer, Hugh Porter of Snitterfield, and John Skarlett, are made overseers.

Mr. Malone has contented himself with giving an abstract only of the will of Agnes Arden, the widow of Robert, which is extraordinary, considering that, according to his theory, she was the grandmother of Shakespeare. But what is worse still, the abstract does not convey a just impression of the sense of the will; and the deductions which Mr. Malone has drawn from it are decidedly mistaken. So much better is it when we are dealing with documentary evidence to have the entire instrument before us, than any abstract, however carefully made.

This will I now, for the first time, print from the original deposited at Worcester under the care of a most obliging keeper, Mr. Clifton. It has suffered a little from damp, particularly at the commencement.

“In the name of God yeare of o^r Lord God 1578*, and in the yeare of the reigne of o^r Sovereigne Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of France, and Irland, Quene, defendris of the faythe, &c. ; I, Agnes Ardenne, of Wylmcote in the parish of Aston Cantlowe, wydowe, do make my last wyll and testamente in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequethe my soule to Almighty God my maker and redeemer, and my bodie to the earthe. Item, I give and bequethe to the poore people and inhabitants of Bearley iiiij*s*. Item, I give and bequethe to the poore people inhabited in Aston parish, *x*s*.*, to be equallie

* Mr. Malone says 1579, and the 21st of Elizabeth; and such is the decayed state of the document in this part of it, that I am by no means certain that Mr. Malone may not in this point be right.

divided by the discrecion of my overseers. Item, I give and bequethe to everione of my god-children *xiid.* a peice. Item, I give and bequeth to Averie Fullwood, *ii* sheepe, yf they doe lyve after my decease. Item, I give and bequeth to Rychard Petyvere, *i* sheepe; and to Nicholas Mase, *i* sheepe; and Elizabeth Gretwhiche and Elizabeth Bentley, eyther of them one shepe. Item, I give and bequeth to everie of Jhon Hill's children everione of them one sheep; and also to John Fullwood's children everione of them one shepe. My wyll is, that they said sheepe so given them shall go forward in a stocke to they use of they seyde children untill the come to the age of discrecion. Item, I give and bequethe to John Payge and his wyf, the longer liver of them, *vis. viiid.*, and to John Page his brother, *i* strike of wheat and one strike of maulte. I give to John Fullwood and Edward Hill my god-childe, everione of them, one shepe more. Also I give to Robert Hasketts *iiis. iiid.* Also I give to John Peter *iis.* And also to Henrie Berrie, *xiid.* Item, I give to Jhohan Lamberde, *xiid.* And to Elizabeth Stiche, my olde gowne. Item, [I give] and bequeth to John Hill my sonne, my parte and moitie of my croppe in the fieldes, as well wheate, barley, and pease, painge for the same half the lordes rente and dueties, belonging to the same, so that my wyll is the sayd John Hill shall have the nexte croppe uppon the grounde, after my disease. I give to the said Jhon Hill my best platter of the best sorte, and my best platter of the second sorte, and *i* porringer, one sawcer, and one best candlesticke. And also I give to the said John two paire of sheets. I give to said Jhon Hill my second potte, my best panne. Item, I give and bequethe to Jhon Fullwood, my sonne in lawe, all the rest of my householde stuffe. Item, I give and bequethe to John Hill my sonne, one cove with the white rumpe: And also I give to John Fullwood, *i* brown steare of the age of two yeares old. Item, I give and bequeth to my brother Alex-

ander Webb's children, everione of them xiid. a peice. The rest of all my goods moveables and unmoveables, not bequethed, my bodie brought home, my debts and legacies paid, I give and bequeth to John Fullwood and to John Hill, to the use and behalf of the said John Fullwood's and John Hill's children, to be delivered unto them and everie of them when they come to age of discrecion. Yf any of the said children doe die before they recover their parts so given by me, their partes deseased shall remain to the other so living with the said John Fullwood and John Hill, [whom] I do ordaine and make my full executors of this my last wyll. Allso I ordayne and make my overseers, Addam Palmer, George Gibbs. These being witnesses, Thomas Edkins, Richard Petifere, with others."

With this will, in which we see something of the rural manners of a past age, we have also an inventory, with a total of 45*l*. The particulars are chiefly husbandry utensils; but there was in the hall of the house in which she lived, among other furniture, a painted cloth. We find painted cloths also, which mean pictures, in Robert Arden's inventory.

Nothing can be more erroneous than the deduction which has been drawn from this will. "It appears that John Hill and John Fulwood had married two of the sisters of Mary Shakespeare."* No such thing. John Hill and the wife of John Fulwood were Agnes Arden's children by a former marriage with a person named Hill. We gather this by comparison with the pedigree of Fulwood, entered at the Warwickshire visitation of 1619,† where John Fulwood of Little Alne, another of the hamlets of the parish of Aston Cantlow, is found, with his wife Mary, daughter of — Hill of Bearley, which is close by, the place, the poor of which

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii., f. 539.

† C. 7 in the College of Arms, f. 24b.; or see Harl. 1167, f. 88.

are remembered at the very beginning of Agnes' will; and where we find John Hill, the son or grandson of this testator, living till near the close of the century. Agnes Hill also, then a widow, is found assessed at Bearley on 7*l.*, in the 37th of Henry VIII. 1546, so that it must have been after that date that she became the wife of Robert Arden; which concurs with the strong presumption raised by the terms of the will, to the proof that she could not have been the mother of Mary Shakespeare.

One thing will arrest the attention of the reader of this will; that though there can be no doubt that it is the will of the widow left by Robert Arden, Shakespeare's grandfather, yet there is not the slightest notice of Mary Shakespeare, or of her sister Alice, another co-heir, whose marriage is not yet known. It is natural that the step-mother should leave what little she had to bequeath to her own son and daughter and their children, especially as she seems to have received nothing but her jointure from Arden; but it would have been satisfactory to have found that, when she was disposing of small remembrances to friends and connections, she had spoken of Mary Shakespeare and her children, especially William, then fifteen years of age; and that she does not name any of the Shakespeares leads to the suspicion, which I should rejoice to see proved to be unfounded, that there was no cordiality between this old lady and her husband's posterity.

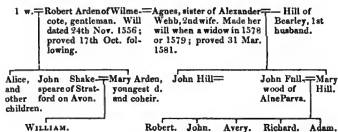
Persons of the surname of Hill are found in great number in and about Stratford; and one or two of them were rather remarkable men. But there is nothing more than mere identity of surname, which in such a case as this is nothing, from which to infer a relationship to the Hills thus brought into connection with the family of Shakespeare. Of the Fulwoods, thanks to the labours of the heralds, we know

much more; and if the received account were true, we should have in these Fulwoods many very near relations of the poet. John Fulwood, who married Mary Hill, was the great-grandson of a Robert Fulwood, who resided at Clay-hall, in the parish of Tamworth. This Robert founded three families, all of some distinction; Richard his eldest son, continued the line at Clay-hall; John, the second, was ancestor of the Fulwoods of Ford-hall, in the parish of Wotton Wawen (from whom Sir John Bernard descended); and Robert, the third, was settled at Little Alne. John Fulwood and Mary Hill, daughter of Agnes wife of Robert Arden, had a numerous family, namely, five sons and three daughters. 1. Robert, who was living at Little Alne in 1619 when he was married, and had issue; 2. John; 3. Avery, of Wilmecote, who was married, and had issue; 4. Richard, of Alcester, who had issue; and 5. Adam. Eleanor, the eldest daughter, was the wife of William Green, of Alne;* Alice, first of Theophilus Williams, and second of George Wilkinson, of Green's Norton, in Northamptonshire; and Catherine, of Henry Hanbury, of Hanbury, in Worcestershire. There

* This William Green appears to have been son of Thomas Green, of Little Alne, yeoman, whose will, dated March 24, in the 22d of Elizabeth, was proved at Warwick, on March 31, 1581. It notices so many persons of the name, and there has been so much suspicion afloat of a connection between the families of Shakespeare and Green, that the following abstract of this will may not be unacceptable or irrelevant. He desires to be buried in the church or church-yard of Aston Cantlow; his wife Anne is to have the house in which he dwelt at Little Alne; he names his sons William, Robert, Thomas, and George; to each of the three last he gives £20 when they are twenty-three. He names Elizabeth and Margaret Gibbes, his wife's daughters; his sister Emlyn Jenks, who was then dead, leaving Edward, her eldest son; and his brother Richard Green. He makes his wife and son William Green joint executors, and his brother Richard Green, and his dear friends Mr. George Skinner, Mr. Baylee, and Adam Palmer, overseers. Among his creditors we find the names of Thomas Green, of Preston-upon-Stowre; Stephen Burman, of Shotton; his cousin Richard Green, and his brother Booth.

is nothing in any act of Shakespeare's to shew that there was any acquaintanceship or friendship between him and the Fulwoods. There was a numerous young family of the name growing up at Little Alne, as late as 1682, descendants of the Agnes Arden whose will we have given; whose names may be found in MS. K. 3, f. 78, in the College of Arms.

I annex a small table, which will exhibit at one view the true connection among the Shakespeares, Ardens, Webbs, Hills, and Fulwoods.



THE SHAKESPEARES (*resumed*).

The children of John Shakespeare and Mary Arden, so far as they are known, were the following :

1. Joan, baptized at Stratford, September 15, 1558. As there was a second daughter to whom the name of Joan was given, it is presumed that this Joan died in her infancy, but no register of her burial is found.

2. Margaret, baptized December 2, 1562 ; buried April 30, 1563.

3. WILLIAM, baptized April 26, 1564.

4. Gilbert, baptized October 13, 1566. His name is found in a document in possession of Mr. Wheler, the antiquary of Stratford, as receiving seisin of certain lands in the name of his brother. In the Register of Burials, at Stratford, we have "Gilbertus Shakspeare, adolescens," buried Feb. 3, 1611; who, bearing this unusual name, may be supposed to be son to the former Gilbert.

5. Joan, baptized April 15, 1569, who married William Hart, of Stratford, and had children, whose baptisms appear in the Stratford register.

6. Anne, baptized September 28, 1571 ; buried April 4, 1579.

7. Richard, baptized March 11, 1573, of whom nothing is known ; but it may be conjectured that he is the Richard Shakspeare who was buried at Stratford Feb. 4, 1612.

8. Edmund, baptized May 3, 1580. He is believed to have been an actor, and to have died in London, unmarried, in 1607.

THE HARTS.

It thus appears that the only descendants of John and Mary Shakespeare who have been ascertained are those who have proceeded from the poet or from his sister Joan, the wife of William Hart; and since, as we shall see, the issue of the poet became extinct in the third generation, the only persons derived from the marriage of John Shakespeare with Mary Arden are the posterity of William Hart and Joan Shakespeare. If any of the brothers of Shakespeare had left issue they would beyond doubt have appeared in his will, or in the wills of Mr. Nash or Lady Bernard.

In them therefore only do we recognize persons who have the blood of that part of the family of Shakespeare to which the poet belonged; and pity it is that their path in life has lain in the dark and lowly vale, that neither has personal talent of any kind brought any of them into notice, nor national or private munificence done much for those who are the nearest blood representatives of him who has gladdened so many hearts, and whose remains are among those works of man on which the glory of England may in a great degree be said to rest. Yet has this line been the object of genealogical curiosity. The research of Mr. Wheler, it is believed, to whom the admirers of Shakespeare are on many accounts so much indebted, has traced out the descendants of Joan Hart in their obscure retreats. The results of his inquiries have been communicated to the world;* they bear the marks of his usual care and accuracy: but as the table is unenlivened

* See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxvi. ii. 204, &c.

by a single name which raises either curiosity or interest, I do not transfer it to these pages, and I am not so fortunate as to have discovered any additional fact for myself, by which the table might be rendered more complete or additional weight of authority be given to any of its statements. Yet it may be proper to select and place in these genealogical Prolusions the more material facts. The first Hart was a hatter, and the marriage must have taken place about the year 1599. The registry of it has not been found. Mrs. Hart lost her husband and her brother in the same month, April, 1616, the husband being buried on the 17th, and the brother on the 25th. She herself is kindly and liberally noticed in the poet's will. She survived him more than thirty years, being buried at Stratford, November 4, 1646. The issue was a daughter named Mary, who died at four years of age, and three sons, William, Thomas, and Michael, to each of whom the poet leaves five pounds. Michael died at ten years of age. It is not known whether William married, but Thomas was the father of Thomas and George Hart, to whom the inn at Stratford, commonly called the Maidenhead, is bequeathed by Lady Bernard, Shakespeare's granddaughter, in 1669. George Hart lived till 1702. He was a tailor at Stratford, and the father of two sons, Shakespeare Hart and George Hart, both of whom married and had issue. From Shakespeare Hart no male issue remains. His granddaughter and heiress, heiress she was, if to nothing else, to the arms of Shakespeare and Arden, married one Bradford of Birmingham, and in her issue, if any, vests the primary representation of the Shakespeares of Stratford. The representative of George, the brother of Shakespeare Hart, in 1806, was William Shakespeare Hart, who was a turner of wood and chair maker living at Tewkesbury, where he exhibited a walking stick

which he alleged to have been Shakespeare's.* He was married and had a large family.

* Other equally dubious *relics* were in the hands of Mrs. Kingsbury, of Tewkesbury, in 1830, namely, an earthen jug and a pencil case. See Bennett's *History of Tewkesbury*, 8vo. 1830, p. 374.—There was lately found in the fields near Stratford a gold seal-ring of the poet's period, having for its device the letters W. and S. connected by a knotted thread, which, had there been no other person at Stratford who might have used a seal, the initial letters of whose name were W. and S., might reasonably pass for his; but there were William Smiths at Stratford, and I am informed that an impression from this very seal exists in a document belonging to the Corporation, to which a William Smith is one of the parties.

Respecting these Smiths of Stratford, Mr. Malone conjectures that the first William was godfather of the poet, and gave him his name at the font. It is more probable that William was a family name; but Mr. Malone having offered this conjecture, and his conjectures ought not to be over-lightly dismissed, it may not be improper to give a few particulars of this William Smith and his family from unpublished sources. He was a linen-draper at Stratford from the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was named in the original charter of incorporation of the inhabitants of Stratford in the 7th of Edward the Sixth. His wife was Alice Watson, a sister of the Bishop of Winchester, it is presumed the same Bishop Watson who wrote the play entitled "*Absalom*," as stated by Meres. Having lived in "good fame and reputation," as it is alleged in a letter from one of his grandchildren, he died in the reign of Elizabeth. In his will, which he made December 4, 1578, and in which he describes himself as "late of Stratford," he desires to be buried in the cathedral-church of Worcester, and distributes property, which was considerable, among his sons; jewels and other personalty he gives to his wife. He had given 1000 marks as a portion to a daughter when she married Richard Palmer, of Compton, esquire. Of the sons, William, the eldest, had the house at Stratford in which his father lived; Richard, the second son, was rector of Motston, in the Isle of Wight; John, the third son, was an alderman of Stratford, and was the father of many sons, of whom Francis was also a Stratford alderman, and William, a person of about the same age as Shakespeare, went to Russia, where he was employed in the service of the emperor. Some of these particulars are derived from a letter from Russia of this William Smith, containing some recollections of his family history, making them the ground of his application to have the arms to which he was entitled transmitted to him. See it in Harl. MS. 1471, f. 98.

THE HATHAWAYS.

It does not appear that there was any accession of fortune or valuable connection to the Shakespeares of Stratford by the marriages of either William or Joan, the only children of John and Mary Shakespeare of whose marriages we know anything.

The tradition of Stratford was that the poet married early in life Anne Hathaway, whose family lived at the village of Shottery, a short mile from Stratford. The tradition was confirmed by the fact, which appeared on the face of several pieces of documentary evidence, that the descendants of the poet had relations of the name of Hathaway. But there was no positive evidence to the fact of the poet's marriage with an Anne Hathaway, or of the time when it took place, till the discovery in 1833 in the registry at Worcester of the bond which was given for the security of the bishop if he granted license for the marriage, the banns being only once proclaimed.* The appearance indeed of the entry in the parish register of Stratford, of the marriage of one Anne Hathaway of Shottery to William Wilson on January 17, 1579, seemed to cast a shade of suspicion on the tradition, and it still establishes this fact that as there were two John Shakespeares contemporaries at Stratford, so were there also two Anne Hathaways.

* Let honour be given to whom honour is due.—This document, the most valuable contribution which has recently been made to the materials for the poet's life, escaped the research of Mr. Malone, who spent some time on the records of the diocese of Worcester, and was reserved to be brought to light by Sir Thomas Phillipps. It is an earnest that we ought not to despair of other documents being still discovered illustrative of the poet's history.

The parties who were bound by this obligation were Fulk Sandells of Stratford, husbandman, and John Richardson of the same place, husbandman. They bound themselves in 40*l.*, conditioned thus:—"That if hereafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment by reason of any pre-contract, consanguinitie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever but that William Shagspere one th' one partie, and Anne Hathway of Stratford, in the dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solemnize matrimony together and in the same afterwards remaine and continew like man and wiffe according unto the lawes in that behalf provided; and moreover if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrel or demaund moved or depending before any judge ecclesiastical or temporall for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment: and moreover if the said William Shaxpere do not proceed to solemnization of mariadge with the said Anne Hathway without the consent of her frinds: and also if the said William do upon his own proper costs and expenses defend and save harmles the Right Reverend father in God Lord John Bishop of Worcester and his offycers for licensing them the said William and Anne to be married together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony between them and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion thereof, that then the said obligation to be void and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and vertue." The date is November 28, 25th of Elizabeth, 1582.

It will be perceived that in this instrument the lady is described not as of Shottery, but of Stratford. This will not be thought to invalidate the Stratford tradition, that she was of the village of Shottery, when it is recollected that "Stratford," in this ecclesiastical document, may not represent the borough, but the parish. It is moreover certain

that there were both Richardsons and Hathaways at Shottery when Anne was in her youth, a William Richardson being assessed there in 6*s.* ; and in the 38th of Henry the Eighth, 1546, John Hathaway, of that village, being assessed at 12*d.* It must, however, be stated that there was a John Hathway, who may have been the same person, assessed at Old Stratford on goods of the value of 10*l.*, to the relief of the 3rd of Edward the Sixth, 1549-50. In 1572, Alice Hathaway, of Shottery, married Henry Smith, of Banbury, and there was a large family born to one Richard Hathaway, alias Gardiner, of Shottery, between 1561 and 1578.

The mind dwells with delight on the idea of a poet's first love, the fondness of his attachment, the ingenuity with which he prosecutes his suit, the difficulties he may have had to encounter, his triumph over them, and the happy consummation of his marriage: and, doubtless, the fields between Stratford and Shottery may have been traversed by many a votary with his mind full of imaginations concerning the poet and his love. The minute researches of the antiquary may sometimes bring to light facts which are concurrent with such pleasant imaginings, and may even give occasion to them by removing the veil which rested on interesting truths. Sometimes, however, the effect is different, and the severities of truth jostle with these pleasant imaginings; and so it may be feared it is in the present case. Two more unseemly persons to attend at a poet's bridal can hardly be conceived than Sandells and Richardson, two husbandmen, who were unable to write their names, and whose marks are so singularly rude that they betray a more than common degree of rusticity. There is no romance, no poetry in this. Where were the Sadlers, the Quineys, the Reynolds', the friends, at that time, of the family, that the

young heir of at least one honourable family is delivered up, or has delivered himself up, into hands such as these? A youth, too, who on that day was but eighteen years, seven months, and five days old; and with him goes to the altar one who was then in her twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year, and who some time before the twenty-sixth of May following presented him with a daughter.

It seems but too evident, that this was a marriage of evil auspices, and it may have been one principal cause of that unsettled state of mind in which the poet left Stratford, about four years afterwards.

No one has yet discovered in what church the marriage was solemnized. Mr. Malone, whose diligence was admirable, examined the registers of most of the churches within a few miles of Stratford, without finding any record of it. Could the marriage, which would follow hard upon the bond, have been celebrated at Worcester?

Ann Hathaway having been born before there was any register kept of the special religious offices performed in the parish of Stratford, we have no account of her baptism, nor, from any other source, information concerning her father, who may, however, be reasonably conjectured to have been the John Hathaway of whom we have spoken. There were later Hathaways at Stratford and Shottery, whose names may be found in Malone, and the name continued there till a late period.

I shall close what I have to say respecting this family with observing that this rare name is ancient in Warwickshire. In the 29th of Edward the Third, 1355, "*Henricus Hathaway de le Syche, de parochia de Stanlegh,*" gave lands there to two sons named Nicholas and John, as I have seen in an ancient charter.

THE SHAKESPEARES (*resumed*).

THE issue of the marriage of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway was three children :

1. Susannah, who was baptized at Stratford, May 26, 1583.

2 and 3. Hamnet and Judith,* twins, who were baptized on February 2, 1584-5.

Of these, Hamnet, or Hamlet, the poet's only son, died at the age of eleven years, being buried at Stratford, August 11, 1596.

The elder of the two daughters married Dr. John Hall, a physician, in great practice at Stratford; the younger, Mr. Thomas Quiney, a member of one of the oldest municipal families of Stratford.

These marriages brought the Shakespeares into connection

* It is a most reasonable conjecture of Mr. Malone, that these twins had their names from Hamlet Sadler and Judith his wife, who were at that time inhabitants of Stratford. The friendship between him and the Sadlers appears to have continued the close of the life of Shakespeare, to whose will Hamlet Sadler was a witness, and to whom a ring is bequeathed.—Hamnet and Hamlet may be read indifferently. Sadler's name is written in both orthographies in the register. The name Hamlet was used in the family of Harrington of Hey-ton-Hey, in Lancashire; and there was a Hamlet Hassell living at Stratford in 1568, and a Hamlet Smith buried there in 1609; but the name was never much in use in England. Hamlet Smith and Hamlet Sadler were relations, John Smith of Stratford, vintner, speaking in his will, 1601, of his son Hamlet Smith and his brother Hamlet Sadler. Hamlet Sadler is named as a relative in the will of Helen Scudamore, 1606, widow of Stephen Scudamore, a vintner in London, whose original name appears to have been Smith, and who speaks also of Hamlet Smith. Considering this connection with Sadler, who was a friend of Shakespeare, it is no wild conjecture that Shakespeare, when he resorted to London, might fall into acquaintance with Scudamore, who was a wealthy man, and related to Sir Clement Scudamore. He lived in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street.

with those families, and of them, according to our design, we shall have to speak. But as there is now an interval of time of some continuance before they properly come before us, a favourable opportunity is presented for interposing something respecting the poet himself. For though I do not propose or design to attempt any thing which can, in any sense, be likened to a life of Shakespeare, I am willing to introduce upon these pages one or two new facts, or old facts set in a new light, or criticisms on what have been proposed as new facts, which may tend, in some slight degree, to the right understanding of his character and history.

The point to which I would first call attention, is the position in which the poet stood in respect of the neighbouring family of Lucy of Cherlecote, on which we read so much in all accounts of his life. The Lucys, the Greviles, and the Cloptons, formed an aristocracy in the vicinity of Stratford, of a rank and fortune much superior to the best of the Shakespeares, to the junior family of Arden, and to the Nashes, Reynolds', Quineys and others, the best families in the town of Stratford. Cherlecote, where the Lucys had resided, and maintained their high rank among the gentry of Warwickshire, from the very earliest period to which we can usually ascend in genealogical researches, is a few miles distant from the town of Stratford. The house was built by Shakespeare's contemporary, Sir Thomas Lucy, and is still a fine specimen of the houses of that period; while in the church are monuments of several chiefs of the family, raised in the times before the taste of the English nation, in this respect, had been vitiated, and church-monuments no longer spoke, as in the olden time, feelingly to the devotional and Christian mind. The family possessed great wealth. In the times of religious dissension, from which England was beginning to recover

itself, when the poet was born who was to speak to all ages and nations the most wholesome truth—

It is the heretic that makes the fire,
Not she that burns in it—

the Lucys had been great favourers of the Reformation, as well as their near kinsmen the Tracies of Todington. He who embalmed the memory of the chief sufferers, John Fox, lived for some time in the family of William Lucy, son and heir of an old Sir Thomas, where he must have acted as tutor to the son and heir named Thomas, whose name is brought into connection with Shakespeare. William Lucy died on June 24, in the 5th of Edward the Sixth, 1551, leaving this Thomas his son and heir, then aged nineteen years and two months.

The birth of Sir Thomas Lucy is, therefore, to be carried back to April, 1532, and from 1551 to 1600, when he died, he was the head of the Lucy family, and during that period one of the most active and influential persons in the county, serving the offices of justice of the peace, commissioner of subsidies and musters, sheriff, and being for some time knight of the shire, and, when so, taking a prominent part in parliamentary proceedings.

There are abundant materials to be collected for the life of Sir Thomas Lucy; but I must pass them over, and come at once to the circumstance which brings his name into what we may call unfortunate connection with the history of Shakespeare—unfortunate, I fear, for both of them. It is quite clear that Shakespeare was a light-hearted man, a man of buoyant spirits and active habits, and not at all the contemplative, abstracted, and melancholy person, like his own Jaques. And antecedently to all inquiry into the mat-

ter nothing is more probable than that he may have yielded to the fascination which the chase of wild animals possesses, and perhaps delighted in it the more when there was something of danger mixing with the joy, as he penetrated the thickets in the darkness of the night, or by the uncertain light of the moon. Men of all ranks have yielded to this fascination. "I would have you provide for Charles, your son; he is easily led to folly; for within two nights after you went from me, his man Morton enticed his master, Blithe, and my armourer to go a stealing into Staveley Park in the night: and I would wish you to advise him from these doings, lest some mischief might come thereby to his harm and your grief." Thus wrote the Earl of Shrewsbury of the reign of Elizabeth, to his Countess, concerning her son Charles Cavendish, the younger brother of the first Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, and father to William Cavendish, afterwards Duke of Newcastle. There is abundant evidence beside to shew that there was no turpitude inferred from such deeds, only some degree of wildness, such as was easily to be redeemed by the more sedate habits of later life.

The scene of Shakespeare's indulgence in these hazardous sports, according to the Stratford tradition, were the parks, paddocks, or preserves of his neighbour at Cherlecote. It is immaterial whether the Lucys had what was technically termed a park; a doubt out of which Mr. Malone raises an argument to discredit the tradition. The Lucys with their wealth and their hospitality, entertaining at one time the queen herself, and with their table often surrounded by the learned and the eminent, would not, we are sure, be without venison of their own; and whether they had a park or no, certain it is, that in the view of Cherlecote, in Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale, which is, however, of not an earlier date than 1722, there are deer browsing under the windows of the

house. A strong current of tradition has brought down the fact that Shakespeare did actually invade a park of Sir Thomas, and did chase, and perhaps carry away, his deer. No written testimony, concurrent with the tradition, is to be found of an earlier date than about the year 1690, when (that is not much later nor much earlier,) Richard Davies, rector of Saperton, in Gloucestershire, writes concerning him, that he was "much given to all unluckiness, in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir Lucy, who had him oft whipped, and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native county, to his great advancement; but his revenge was so great, that he is his Justice Clodpate, and calls him a great man, and that, in allusion to his name, bore three louses rampant in his arms."* Rowe, in 1707, gives a similar account: "He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and, amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, at Cherlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him; and though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled that prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London." Aubrey has no notice of this part of his history.

Rowe says the ballad or lampoon is lost. There is, indeed, what purports to be the identical ballad, beginning—

A Parliament member, a justice of peace, &c.

* This is a note or interlineation in a volume of Fulman's Collections for the Lives of the Poets, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The collections of Fulman are of small value.

where the first stanza seems older than the rest ; but there is one expression in this ballad, which marks it as, beyond question, of a later period.

If a juvenile frolic, he cannot forgive, &c.

This is not the language of Shakespeare, or of Shakespeare's age.

This will not be affirmed of another ballad, of which, however, only one of the stanzas has been preserved. The story concerning this ballad is, that Joshua Barnes, the Greek professor at Cambridge, and who is known also as a lover of the English drama, passing through Stratford, heard an old woman singing it, and wrote it down on the spot. This may well have been before 1690. The internal evidence of the genuineness of this ballad appears to me very strong, both as respects the manner of the time, and the peculiar genius of Shakespeare. Let the reader judge. It is admitted that the channel by which it is conveyed to us is not the purest.*

Sir Thomas was too covetous
To covet so much deer ;
When horns enough upon his head
Most plainly did appear.
Had not his worship one deer left ?
What then ? He had a wife
Took pains enough to find him horns
Should last him during life.

And here, as seems to me, and not in the deer-stealing, lay the offence which drove Shakespeare from his native county, and forced him upon the chances of a London life.

A young man who possessed the power of annoyance which these lines, mean as perhaps they may be thought, shew was in his hands, and who had also the disposition to

* See *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 144.

use it, was a dangerous neighbour to such a person as Sir Thomas Lucy; and we may well suppose that he might exert whatever power the law, and the poet's own imprudence, might give him, to compel the removal from his then present abode of a man who had thus made familiar to the popular ear a charge which, whether true or false, must have been exceedingly offensive and painful to him. He might despise it as a slander of the day, but we seem to have evidence that Sir Thomas Lucy could not, or did not, do so. We have, at least, in the church of Cherlecote, a testimony to the fidelity and eminent virtues of Lady Lucy, so earnest, so affectionate, and inscribed in so peculiar a manner, by his own hand, that I can scarcely regard it in any other light than as his reply to the malicious rumours of the neighbourhood, to which the poet had, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to give circulation. It shews us, at least, distinctly, that the deceased lady had those who "misliked" her.

Here, entombed, lieth the Lady Joyce Lucy, wife of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Cherlecote, in the county of Warwick, Knight; daughter and heir of Thomas Acton, of Sutton, in the county of Worcester, Esquire; who departed out of this wretched world to her heavenly kingdom, the 10th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1595, and of her age 60 and 3:—All the time of her life a true and faithful servant of her good God; *never detected of any crime or vice*; in religion most sound; *in her love to her husband most faithful and true*; in friendship most constant; to what in trust was committed to her most secret; in wisdom excelling; in governing her house and bringing up of youth in the fear of God that did converse with her, most rare and singular; a great maintainer of hospitality; greatly esteemed of her betters; *misliked of none unless of the envious*. When all is spoken that can be said, a woman so furnished and garnished with virtue, as not to be bettered and hardly to be equalled by any. As she lived most virtuously, so she died most godly.

Set down by him that best did know what hath been written to be true.

THOMAS LUCY.

We have hardly another instance of an epitaph in this form. It is clearly of the nature of a solemn open testimony placed in the church at Cherlecote, on the spot where the

body rested, to be read by all who resorted thither ; and no one can doubt that it had its origin in some peculiarity of circumstances, whatever that peculiarity may at last turn out to have been.

We possess in one of the plays of Shakespeare what may be regarded as evidence from his own pen, that something like what the Stratford tradition has handed down did actually occur between him and Sir Thomas Lucy. I need scarcely say that this play is *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. When Justice Shallow appears in the Second Part of *King Henry the Fourth*, there is nothing to suggest that the poet had the Knight of Cherlecote in his mind ; but when we find the same character again in *The Merry Wives*, we are compelled to look to Stratford and Cherlecote, and to think of the Lucys ; and should be so, were there no tradition of any unkindness between the poet and his Cherlecote neighbour.

Shallow.—Sir Hagh, persuade me not : I will make a star-chamber matter of it : if he were twenty Sir John Falstaffs, he shall not abuse Robert Shallow, Esquire.

Slender.—" In the county of Glo'ster, justice of peace and coram."

Shallow.—Ay, cousin Slender, and custalorum.

Slender.—Ay, and ratolorum too ; and a gentleman born, master parson : who writes himself " Armigero ;" " in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, Armigero."

Shallow.—Ay, that I do ; and have done any time these three hundred years.

So far we have nothing of Lucy ; it is not even a caricature of Sir Thomas, for a caricature implies some degree of verisimilitude, and there is none here. But when Slender says " they may give the dozen white *lucres* in their coat," we are carried at once to Cherlecote and the antient arms of the Lucys ; and Shallow, who is now turned into Lucy, thus describes the particular injury he had sustained, " You have beaten my men, killed my deer, and broke open my lodge."

It appears, however, extraordinary, that Shakespeare

should revert to a youthful folly, to give it no harsher term, twelve years after it had occurred, and without, as far as appears, any new provocation from the Lucys: and it may be that the whole scene was written for the sake of introducing one expression meant to be understood as a kind of apology for himself.

Shallow.—He hath wronged me, Master Page.

Page.—*Sir, he doth in some sort confess it.**

There was even a reason why Shakespeare should at the period when he produced *The Merry Wives*, have sought rather to repair the wrong he had done to the family of Lucy; for the lady whom his patron the Earl of Southampton married in 1598, commonly called The Fair Vernon, was nearly connected with the Lucys, being a niece by the half blood of the deceased Lady Lucy.† But there appears not to have been any reconciliation; for though Shakespeare became, as we know, eminent and wealthy, and the noblest persons in the land sought his society and delighted in it, there is no reason to think that, when in the latter period of his life he returned to Stratford and lived there, he was ever introduced to the circles at Cherlecote. We may wish that the evidence

* It has never, I think, been observed that there were a great number of Welsh people living at Stratford in Shakespeare's youth, and that his familiarity thus obtained with the peculiar manner in which the Welsh spoke the English language may have led him to introduce Sir Hugh and his Welsh speech in this scene, where it is so clear that his mind was full of associations formed with Stratford. We collect the fact from the parish register of Stratford, where we find Ap Roberts, Ap Rice, Ap Williams, Ap Edwards, Hugh ap Shon, Howell ap Howell, Evans Rice, Evans Meredith, and several others, whose names shew that they were natives of Wales, and not persons merely of Welsh extraction. I see no probable cause of their settlement at Stratford.

† I state this rather curious genealogical point on the authority of a pedigree in Harl. 1983, f. 33^b, which sets forth that the mother of Joyce Acton, wife of Sir Thomas Lucy, took to her second husband George Vernon, of Hodnet, by whom she had John Vernon, who was thus half-brother of Lady Lucy, father of Elizabeth, countess of Southampton.

had borne a different aspect, for Cherlecote, whatever it may have been in the days of his own Sir Thomas, when he was gone, and for the last sixteen years of the life of Shakespeare, was as much as any house in England the seat of the Virtues, the Graces, and the Muses. I do not say that Shakespeare needs the testimony which such an acquaintanceship would have borne to his eminent merits; or that it would have been otherwise than honourable to Cherlecote at its best estate to have received such a man under its roof; but it could have been no discredit to either party had we found that past unkindnesses had been forgotten, and that he was received as a friend and neighbour by such persons as in his later days formed the society at Cherlecote.

A word or two may be added to shew who they were.

Sir Thomas Lucy survived his lady five years, dying in 1600. He was succeeded by his son, another Sir Thomas, who enjoyed the estate not more than four or five years. This Sir Thomas was a scholar in that peculiar species of learning in which Shakespeare delighted; for we find him leaving, in his will, "all his French and Italian books" to his son. He left a widow, who was originally Constance Kingsmill, a great heiress, who had been brought up in the family of Sir Francis Walsingham, where she was a companion of his daughter, the Stella of Spenser, who became the wife of Sir Philip Sidney, about the same time that Constance married the younger Sir Thomas Lucy. But that was the least of her merits. I have seen a manuscript account of this lady written by the wife of one of her descendants*, in which, among many high commendations, it is said that in the family of Walsingham she was noted for her "courteousness and decent sober

* Mrs. Elizabeth Lucy, a daughter of Bevil Molesworth, Esquire. The original is in the possession of Robert Benson, Esquire, recorder of Salisbury, who descends from the Lucys.

carriage." This lady had Cherlecote after her husband's death, and there she brought up the large family committed to her care by her husband, consisting of six sons and four daughters. Her eldest son was another Sir Thomas Lucy who was nearly thirty years of age at the time of Shakespeare's death. He and his brothers were educated at the Universities and Inns of Court, and improved by foreign travel. He was himself returned in six several Parliaments for the county of Warwick; but, what is more to the present purpose, he was a scholar—one who delighted in literature, and whose table, as saith his epitaph, was always "open to the learned." The "greatness of his library" is also spoken of by his contemporaries, and we may see him lying on his tomb in the church of Cherlecote, with a study of books at his head, and at his feet a managed horse, an exercise in which he greatly delighted. He was the intimate friend of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as appears in Lord Herbert's account of his own life, and we may even trace him in the poetical literature of his time. John Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, 1611, a book more to be admired for the many useful biographical notices which it contains than for the felicity of the verse, speaks of him thus:—

The all-beloved and highly prized gem,
That in the court's brow like a diamond,
Or Hesperus in heaven, doth lighten them,
For men to see their way on glory's ground.

Richard, another of the sons, was a man of genius, as is evident from his being named one of the eighty-four who were to form an Academe Royal in the reign of James the First, to be associated in some way with the Order of the Garter. He was one of the earliest Baronets, and was the progenitor of the Lueys of Broxborne. William, another of the sons, became Bishop of St. David's.

Constance Lucy, the eldest daughter, died at ten years of age, in 1596, and had an epitaph in the church of the Holy Trinity, in the Minorities :

Et quondam *lucida*, *lucē* caret,
Ante annos *Consians*, *humilis*, *mansueta*, *modesta*.

In better taste is the epitaph in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, for Constance Whitney, a granddaughter of Sir Thomas and Constance Lucy, who appears to have been included in the family circle at Cherlecote. "This lady Lucy, her grandmother, so bred her since she was eight years old, as she excelled in all noble qualities becoming a virgin of so sweet a proportion of beauty and harmony of parts ; she had all sweetness of manners answerable, a delightful sharpness of wit, an offenceless modesty of conversation, a singular respect and piety to her parents, but religious even to example. She departed this life most Christianly, at seventeen ; dying the grief of all, but to her grandmother an unrecoverable loss, save in her expectation she shall not stay long after her, and the comfort of knowing whose she is, and where, in the resurrection, to meet her."*

Possibly, time may yet bring evidence to light which may shew that there was some connection between Shakespeare and this family, in the later period of the poet's life ; when at Sir Thomas Lucy's table "*bonus quisque gratissimus accubuit, presertim si theologiam sapuit, et musas imbibit ; quarum ipse sitientior dubium an scientior fuerit.*" The Lucys, it may be observed, have previously found little favor at the hands of the poet's friends.

Of the mode of the poet's life, while he was an inhabitant of Stratford, we cannot be said to know anything, if knowledge means certain information ; that he was a schoolmaster,

* *Munday's Stowe*, fol. 1633, p. 779.

that he was an attorney's clerk, that he was a dealer in wool, that he was a hatcher, are all either conjectural inferences from passages in his writings, or the traditions or recollections of persons whose relations ought to be sustained by some extraneous evidence before credit is given to them. That he passed several years at the Grammar School, at Stratford, hardly admits of a doubt. We know that he married before he was nineteen, and that his children were baptized at Stratford before he was twenty-one. There is also strong reason for believing that a great unkindness grew up between him and his powerful neighbours at Cherlecote, which, in the end, drove him from Stratford, and was the immediate cause of his settlement in London. So far our knowledge may be said to extend, but here it would seem to stop. We then enter on the region of conjecture and probabilities; and of all these probabilities that seems, on the whole, most reasonable, that he, the eldest son of his father and the expectant heir of no very inconsiderable property, both on his father's and mother's side, was destined by his father to the same course of life which, we have reason to think, he himself pursued; that he was not brought up to any particular profession or employment, but was put in the dangerous position of one without regular occupation, yet, at the same time, without any very sufficient means of support. His marriage, therefore, would, in all probability, be distasteful to his parents, and compel him to think for himself of some means of subsistence. It would, at any rate, frustrate any intentions which his parents might have formed respecting him, and throw him very much on resources of his own; for, whatever else may be known of Anne Hathaway, there is no reason to believe that she brought with her any fortune. But when this marriage had taken place, and he remained for a few years at Stratford, it must be admitted that we know

nothing with any certainty of any employment in which he was engaged there.

This is unfortunate; and it has been usual for critics on the life of Shakespear to complain of this want of information, and Steevens in particular has expressed his sense of it in terms so exaggerated, that one may wonder they should have been so often taken up and repeated. Persons accustomed to minute biographical research soon become sensible to the extreme difficulty of discovering particular incidents or positions in the lives of even eminent persons of time long past, when this eminence has lain only in the quiet walks of literature. Shakespeare is, in this respect, but in the state in which most of his contemporary poets are. Spenser, for instance, how little do we know of him; but with this difference, that we do know more concerning Shakespeare than we know of most of his contemporaries of the same class; so that instead of complaining that we know so little, we ought rather to rejoice that the inquiries of former biographers and the discoveries of more recent times have presented us with so much information concerning him. Small it is, but then how little is what we know of innumerable persons of whom we might wish to know more? If we had not had an Anthony Wood, what should we have known of any of the men of literature of his period?

He leaves Stratford, and becomes an actor in London. This we know, and a great deal more, as will at once be perceived by any one who will only glance at any of the many attempts which have been made to write biographies of the poet. But the year in which he left Stratford, that we do not know; yet we may gather from circumstances raising a high probability that it was in 1586 or 1587.

The next date which I deem unquestionable is 1592. In

that year it is evident that he was an actor of some eminence, and that he was employed in adapting old plays of contemporary or earlier authors to the existing taste of the public. We learn this from the often quoted passage in Green and Chettle's pamphlet, a passage full of most admirable meaning in respect of the early history of Shakespeare; and which, of itself, might serve to shew how wide of the truth is the assertion of Steevens respecting the extreme penury of our information.

In 1593, he published his *Venus and Adonis*, and this poem, which is one of singular beauty, though in some parts too voluptuous, he calls the "first heir of his invention," which must mean that he had composed no distinct work before it.

But these dates leave unaccounted for three or four years at least of his life; and we have no certain information under what circumstances, in the detail, he left Stratford, where he had father and mother, wife and children, brother and sister; whether with their consent or without it, whether furnished with money by his father, for there is little reason to suppose that he could have much of his own, or coming without resources, to see what such a place of universal concourse as London would afford him. It might be, and perhaps it is as reasonable a conjecture as any other, that the whole was matter of family arrangement and consent; that Stratford, at the best, was but a poor field for the exertions of one who had the eminent talents and the scholarship which he possessed, that it was rendered an undesirable residence for him by the exasperation of a powerful neighbour, if indeed it was possible to stand before that exasperation; and that the best course which, on the whole, he could take, was to transfer himself to London, and either with an immediate view to a connection with the theatres, or trusting

himself to the chapter of accidents, see what would happen to him.

All this is but uncertain speculation : but if I had perfect confidence in the papers which Mr. Collier has printed from the remains of Lord Ellesmere, at Bridgewater House,* I should say that the presumptive proof is strong that he had gone to London *with consent and design*, and that he had at once become connected with that which was the most popular of the London theatrical companies of the time. For one of these documents is dated in November, 1589, and at that time it appears from it that Shakespeare was not only an actor at the Black Friars Theatre, but was a sharer or proprietor in it. A sight of the original might at once remove any shade of doubt which may rest on this paper ; but, as it stands, I cannot but feel some hesitation in accepting it as evidence. There is no doubt that it accords very well with the general state of theatrical affairs in the month of November, 1589, and so far it is open to no suspicion ; but, beside some other suspicious circumstances, it comes accompanied with a letter which purports to be from the Earl of Southampton to Lord Ellesmere, which bears upon it strong marks of being a modern fabrication.

Having stated an opinion unfavourable to the genuineness of this document, which of all the papers brought from the stores at Bridgewater House is the most important, it is right that some of the grounds should be shewn on which I hesitate to yield to it an implicit credence. The nature of it is this : there were attempts at that period to put down the theatres ; this document is a certificate that sixteen persons named, of whom Shakespeare is one, being all sharers in the Black Friars Theatre, “ have never given cause of displeasure in that they have brought into their plays matters of state and

* *New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare*, 12mo. 1835.

religion, unfitt to be handled by them or to be presented before lewde spectators." I confess this sounds to me not like the phrase in which a genuine certificate of that time would be conceived, but very like what fifty years ago would be thought a good imitation of that phrase. The want of signature and superscription is another ground of suspicion; but the suspicion is greatly strengthened by the difficulty of reconciling positions in this document with what is known from other sources concerning some of the persons who are named in it. Richard Burbage, for one; in 1589 he seems not to have been more than nineteen, for the time of his birth cannot well be thrown back farther than to 1570, so that though he might be an actor he would hardly be a proprietor. It may be said that he stands here in virtue of his relation to his father, but what shall we say of another name, Nicholas Towley. One of the best established facts in the history of the actors in Shakespeare's plays is that Towley was an apprentice of Richard Burbage,* that is, an apprentice of a man who was himself but nineteen and possibly less in 1589, and yet a sharer in the theatre. Then take the name of William Kemp. The facts of the life of this actor have been very carefully examined by Mr. Dyce, and it would appear that at the date of this certificate he belonged to Alleyn's company, and did not join the Black Friars' till about 1594.† That Peele should be amongst them is also a remarkable circumstance for a reason given by Mr. Collier himself.‡

It is not therefore without some hesitation that this paper ought to be admitted in proof that by the time Shakespeare was twenty-five years of age he had not only obtained a fellowship in a company of players, but was become one of the

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii., p. 485.

† *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder*; Ed. Dyce, Introduction, p. vi.

‡ *New Facts*, p. 13.

leading and principal persons among them, a sharer or proprietor in the principal theatre in London.

It is a curious circumstance, which has hitherto remained unnoticed, that a few years later than the time when Shakespeare took what is generally believed to have been an abrupt leave of his family and friends at Stratford, we have authentic information that one of the Sadlers actually did so, and proceeded without a plan to London. This was John Sadler, a nephew as is believed of Hamlet Sadler, and certainly brother-in-law of a Quiney who was brother of Shakespeare's son-in-law of that name. The father of this John Sadler was a person of good substance there, having had, according to the relation of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Walker, 400*l.* a year, which by his generous living he reduced to 80*l.* He had found out a marriage for his son, and, as Mrs. Walker tells the story, "provided him good clothes, a good horse, and money in his purse, and sent him to make his addresses to the gentlewoman in the country. But he, considering well how difficult a married condition was like to prove, instead of going a wooing joined himself to the carrier and came to London, where he had never been before, and sold his horse in Smithfield; and having no acquaintance in London to recommend or assist him, he went from street to street and house to house, asking if they wanted an apprentice, and though he met with many discouraging scorns and a thousand denials, he went till he light on Mr. Brooksbank, a grocer in Bucklersbury." Stratford adventurers of this class may be deemed fortunate. Shakespeare acquires wealth as well as undying reputation. Sadler is entertained in Mr. Brooksbank's service, sets up in due time as a druggist or grocer in Bucklersbury, then the principal seat of the trade and obtained before he died considerable wealth.*

* See *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker, late wife of A. W., D.D.*,

To revert to the document which is of so great importance in regard to the opinion which may be formed respecting that principal event in the life of the poet—his leaving Stratford and settling in London—it is to be observed that it was found, together with others of the like nature, in papers of Lord Chancellor Egerton. The right determining of the question of the genuineness of this document would be influenced by the opinion which might be formed concerning the rest; and upon these, I venture to make the following observations:

The first of them purports to be an ordinance of the corporation of London, at the time when Leonard Hali-day was Lord Mayor, 1605. "Wheras Kemp, Armyne, and others, players at the Black Friars, have again not forborne to bring upon their stage one or more of the worshipful aldermen of the City of London, to their great scandall, and to the lessening of their authority, the Lords of the right honorable the Privy Council are besought to call the said players before them and to enquire into the same, that order may be taken to remedy the abuse, either by putting down or removing the said theatre."* There is no doubt that Kemp and Armine were comic actors, whose services would be put in requisition when the company at the Black Friars meant to burlesque the aldermen of London, or any of them; but it may be doubted whether they were the names to be put forward in a formal communication from the City to the Privy Council, and that the complaint should not rather have been made against those who were the heads of the company, such as Burbage, Fletcher, and Shakespeare. In such a city resolution we should also, I think, have found *rector of Fyfield, in Essex*, 8vo. 1690. Mrs. Walker was Sadler's daughter, and great part of the book consists of extracts from her old manuscript remains.

* Collier's *New Facts*, p. 17.

the actors complained of, not spoken of with this air of familiarity—"Kemp, Armin, and others;" but that we should have had them pointed out by their Christian names also, and that if any of the actors were specifically named, the others thus charged would have been mentioned by name also. But though the whole turn of the phrase of this document and the above circumstances give to it an air of the want of genuineness, there is a stronger objection still. It is extremely doubtful whether Kemp was alive in 1605. Ritson states, without however giving his authority, that he died in 1603. There are probabilities that a William Kemp, who was buried in the cemetery of Saint Saviour's, Southwark, on November the 2nd, 1603, was the actor of that name.* But supposing that Kemp did not die so early as 1603, he had retired from the company at the Black Friars, and joined Alleyn's rival company before that time.† Mr. Collier informs us that "the Privy Council Registers contain no entry of any proceedings at this time against the offending players."‡

The next of these documents is an estimate of the value of the whole property in the Theatre at the Black Friars,§ and of each particular sharer in it; in which Shakespeare stands as a principal proprietor: and it is certainly very interesting information which we gain from it. This estimate was made in 1608, with the purpose, as Mr. Collier supposes, that the City should purchase the whole property, and by that means dislodge the players. This document has more the

* So thought Mr. Chalmers, *Boswell's Malone*, vol. lii. p. 490; and Mr. Dyce inclines to the same opinion; *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder*, Introduction, p. ix.

† We owe this information to Mr. Collier himself. See the publication of *Armin's Nest of Ninnies*, by the Shakespeare Society, 8vo. 1842, Introduction, p. xiv.

‡ *New Facts*, p. 20.

§ *Ibid.* p. 22.

air of being genuine than the two which we have examined : yet it is rather a suspicious circumstance, that we find in one of the entries the names of Heminge and Condell united, in anticipation, as it may seem, of their union in 1623, fifteen years after, as the joint editors of the first folio of the works of Shakespeare.

The last of these papers upon which I shall offer any remark, is the letter which purports to have been addressed by the Earl of Southampton to Lord Ellesmere, recommending to his notice Burbage and Shakespeare, by whom the letter was presented ; an interesting document, though it does not enlarge in any way our information concerning either of them. Mr. Collier refers it to the year 1608.* But this letter is not in the manner in which one nobleman, in those times, addressed another. It is not in the style of the times at all. This, however, is too general a declaration to be received as any thing more than as a warning to any one to be cautious in the use of it. So to descend to more minute and special matters. It was not the practice of those times to quote in letters demi-official, passages from Shakespeare, in the manner in which he is here quoted ; for when alluding to Burbage, the Earl of Southampton speaks of him as "a man famous as our English Roscius, one that fitteth the action to the word, and the word to the action, most admirably." What is next said of him is not consistent with what is now known of him—"that by the exercise of his quality, industry, and good behaviour, he had become possessed of the Black Fryars Playhouse"—he having inherited it from his father, James Burbage, by whom it was built. The period of the erection of this theatre is said to be near fifty years ago, that is, in or about 1558 ; while it is known that it was

* Collier's *New Facts*, p. 32.

not built till 1576.* Can it be supposed that in a genuine letter we should meet with such a clause as the following? speaking of the Plays of Shakespeare, the Earl says, that "they were most singularly liked of Queen Elizabeth, when the companie was called uppon to perform before her Ma^{tie} at Court at Christmas and Shrovetide." I do not doubt the fact, but I greatly doubt whether the Earl would put it thus in 1608. Again, "they are both of one countie, and indeed almost of one towne." This is not correct. No doubt there were persons of the name of Burbage, in those times, all over Warwickshire and Leicestershire; but Richard Burbage, the actor, appears to have been born in London, his father having lived, at least from the time when Richard was a young child, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. There are other phrases open to very grave suspicion, which I cannot stay to adduce.

And this may be sufficient to secure a cautious reading and use of the Shakespeare documents, published from the Repositories at Bridgewater House. No one who knows Mr. Collier, can for a moment doubt that they were found by him there; the question only is, *How came they there?* and I do not conceal my own persuasion, which however an inspection of them might at once remove, that with the possible exception of the valuation of the shares, they have very much the appearance of papers such as those with which Steevens, in the perversity of his humour, was accustomed to abuse the enthusiasm of his Shakespearian friends, and to perplex the judgment of the more knowing. I speak with as much confidence as a person ought to do who depends solely on memory (for my note, if one was ever made, is lost), when I say that I have somewhere seen that Steevens had access to the Egerton Papers; and it is quite consistent with

* Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, 12mo. 1831. Vol. i. p. 226.

what is known of him, "the knavish spright, hight Robin Goodfellow," to suppose that, if he had access, he may have introduced some or all of these papers into the bundle, enjoying the thought that they would one day be mistaken for genuine remains of the time. It is, at any rate, very remarkable that the Earl of Southampton's letter should contain an allusion to that very passage of *Hamlet*, which is the subject of the supposititious letter from Peele to Marlowe, a known forgery of Steevens, which Mr. D'Israeli has noticed, to shew "the danger which literary historians incur by such nefarious practices."*

It may be safely predicted that after the painful researches of Malone, whom it is too much the humour of the times to undervalue, and those who laboured with him, especially Steevens and Chalmers, the discovery of new documentary matter, in which the name of Shakespeare occurs, will go on most exceedingly slowly; and it is most desirable that when any such documents are propounded to the world, they should be opened fully and unreservedly to all critical inquirers in this department, and undergo a strict and rigid examination. Signs of genuineness, or signs of the want of it, may strike one mind, while they are unobserved by another. At all events, before matters of this kind become the foundation on which popular writers, who do not pretend themselves to much research, but rather to make use of the discoveries of other men, proceed in their *Lives* of the poet, there should be that examination and scrutiny, which in the present instance might, perhaps, remove all suspicion, and place the Bridgewater documents in the high rank of genuine and authentic materials for the history of the poet and the theatre of his times.

The same may be said respecting verses which purport to be the composition of Shakespeare, or which are propounded

* *Curiosities of Literature*, Eleventh Edition, 8vo. 1839, p. 138.

as being so. We must not expect easily to find verses, previously unknown, from the pen which has so long charmed the world. What we have to do, is to illustrate the writings we have; to trace the poet to his studies; to shew his allusions to the events of his time; to distinguish that which he wrote for the multitude from that which would be fully understood only by his private friends, and especially the circle which surrounded the young Lord Herbert. There is here something yet to be done; and from his own writings there may yet be extracted much more than they have, so far, been made to yield for the poet's own biography.

How dangerous it is to attempt to place any new poetry under the name of Shakespeare, may appear from the verses found by Mr. Collier, in the Bridgewater library, and printed by him in his *New Particulars regarding the works of Shakspeare*.* They were lottery verses, and appear to have been intended for the amusement of a gay party at Harefield, where lived the Dowager Countess of Derby, who gave her hand to Sir Thomas Egerton, in 1600. Mr. Collier states, with great fairness, that the signature may be W. Sk., as well as W. Sh., on the strength of which he is disposed to assign them to Shakespeare, in which he has found followers. There can be no doubt that W. Sk. is the true reading, and that they are the production not of William Shakespeare, but William Skipwith, a knight of those times, who was, we know, famous for this particular species of verse; "a person of much valour," says Fuller, quoting Burton in his Description of Leicestershire, "judgment, learning, and wisdom, dexterous at the making fit and accute epigrams, poesies, mottoes, and devices, but chiefly at impresses, neither so apparent that any rustic might understand them, nor so obscure that they needed an Cædipus to interpret them."† Sir William

* 12mo. 1836, p. 64.

† *Worthies of England*, fol. 1662. Leicestershire, p. 142.

Skipwith was a Leicestershire man, and sheriff of the county in the 39th of Elizabeth.

In the course of any researches of my own, only one document has presented itself which is entirely unknown, containing a notice of Shakespeare during the course of his London life. It shews us, what has hitherto remained undiscovered, *in what part of London* he had fixed his residence at the period of his life when he was producing the choicest of his works. But this is not all; it shews him dwelling in a parish in which, perhaps above all, we might wish to find him, the parish in which many conspicuous persons have resided, and where, in our day, we find more of old London than in, perhaps, any other space so contracted. I mean the parish of St. Helen, Bishopsgate, where is Crosby Hall, and where, in the church, are the monuments of Sir John Crosby and Sir Thomas Gresham, and of other worthy citizens, the glory of a former age. We have evidence, of the most decisive nature, that on October 1, in the 40th year of Queen Elizabeth, which answers to the year 1598, Shakespeare was one of the inhabitants of this parish, and consequently a near neighbour of Crosby Hall. It is an assessment roll of that date for levying the first of three entire subsidies which were granted to the Queen in the 39th of her reign. How long before, or how long after, he might reside there, we know not, but his name does not appear in a similar assessment roll in 1600. I have also searched the registers of the church in hope to find his name in vain. This document affords us also some insight into his circumstances, that is, relatively to the neighbours around him, for the principle on which men's property was estimated in these assessment rolls it is not easy to determine. It is valuable also, inasmuch as it gives us the names of those his neighbours, men with whom he must, of necessity, have had

some intercourse, men at least to whom he would himself be an object of curiosity: among them we find Sir John Spencer, Dr. Richard Taylor, Dr. Peter Turner, Dr. Edward Jordan, all well known physicians, Dr. Cullimore, Robert Honeywood, and the heads of the wealthy families of Read and Robinson. In the adjoining parish lived old John Stowe. But the document is too important not to be quoted entire.

THIS INDENTURE, made the first day of October, in the fortyth yeare of the reigne of our Sovveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Betweene the right honorable Sir Richard Saltonstall, knight, Lord Maier of the Cytie of London, Sir John Hart, and Sir Henry Billingsley, knights, the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners, amongst others authorized by her Highnes commission under the greates seale of England for the taxation, levyeing, and gathering of the first subsidye of the three entyre subsidies lately graunted to her Majesty by her Highnes lay subjects, by Act of Parliament holden at Westminster, in the xxxixth yeare of hir Majesty's reigne, within the said cytie of London, on thone partie, and Ferdynando Clutterbooke draper, and Thomas Symons skynner, cittizens of the said cytie, whome the said Commissioners have named, deputed, and chosen, and by theise presents doe name, depnte, and choose to bee pettye collectors of the saide first subsidye in the ward of Bushoppesgate within the said cytie, on thother partie, Witnesseth that the said Ferdinando Clutterbooke and Thomas Symons soe named, deputed, appointed, and chosen to bee pettie collectors in the said ward, and authorised thereunto by these presents, shall receive, levye, collect, and gather of all and everye the severall persons hereafter named to the Queen's Majesty's use, all such severall sommes of money as in this presente extract beene taxed and assessed upon them, and every of them, for their severall values and substances, rated, specified, and conteyned as hereafter followeth; that is to say, of

St. Helen's Parishes.

Sr John Speneer, knight, a commissioner, ccc^l. xl^l.

William Reade, in lands, cl^l. xxx^l

John Robinson the elder, cl^l. xliii^l. vi^s. viii^d.

Richard Taylor, doctor, in landes and fees, x^l. xi^l.

Peter Turnor, doctor, in landes and fees, x^l. xi^l.

Peter Dallyla, xxx^l. iv^l.

Affid. Robert Honeywood, gent. in landes, xl^l. viii^l.

John Ailsoppe, l^l. vi^l. xliii^s. iv^d.

John Morrys, xxx^l. iv^l.

Robert Springe, xxx^l. iv^l.

- Edward Swayne, in lande and fees, x^l. x^l.
 Jeames Scoles, xx^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Joane Lomley, widow, lii^s. viii^s.
 Anthony Snoode, x^l. xxvi^s. viii^d.
 Jeames Roking, lii^s. viii^s.
 Walter Briggen, v^l. xlii^s. iv^d.
 Joh. Robinson the yonger, x^l. xxvi^s. viii^d.
 John Prymme, iii^l. viii^s.
 Affid. William Shakespeare, v^l. xlii^s. iv^d.
 George Axon, iii^l. viii^s.
 Edward Jackson, lii^s. viii^s.
 Edward Jorden, viii^l. xxi^s. iv^d.
 John Jeffrey, lii^s. viii^s.
 Christopher Eland, lii^s. viii^s.
 Affid. Oswald Fetcche, xx^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Affid. John Stockett Jeckett, iii^l. viii^s.
 John Suran, xx^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Sisley Eyoll, widdowe, lii^l. viii^s.
 William Winkefelde, iii^l. viii^s.
 Thomas Childe, lii^l. viii^s.
 Richard Rysbey, iii^l. viii^s.
 Tymothe Bathurst, xx^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Jeames Elwicke, xx^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Affid. William Chorle, iii^l. viii^s.
 Francis Wells, lii^l. viii^s.
 Henry Mannder, lii^l. viii^s.
 Affid. Mr. Peole, x^l. xxvi^s. viii^d.
 William Staffeley, iii^l. viii^s.
 Affid. Thomas Morley, v^l. xlii^s. iv^d.
 Henry Hetherband, lii^l. viii^s.

Straungers.

- Leven Vander Stylt, v^l. xliii^s. vi^s. viii^d.
 Affid. Jarrone Martyn, x^l. liii^s. iv^d.
 Peter Vegleman, xx^l. v^l. vi^s. viii^d.
 Affid. Augustin de Bewly, xxv^l. vi^l. xlii^s. iv^d.
 John de Clarke, xv^l. iv^l.
 Leven Vander Stilt's wiefe, per poll, viii^d.
 Esay Mislonde, Matthew Stilton, and Barbery Capon, his servants,
 per poll, ii^s.
 Affid. Doctor Cullymore, v^l. xxvi^s. viii^d.
 Affid. Laurenee Bossel, v^l. xxvi^s. viii^d.
 Affid. Peter his sonne, per poll, viii^d.
 Affid. Peter Greade, Davye Fayrecook, and Frauncis Dyane, servants, per
 poll, ii^s.

Sherrett Bawkes, xl^a. x^a. viii^d.

Joyce, his wief, Agnes, his servant, per poll, xvi^d.

Peter Vandesker and his wief, per poll, xvi^d.

Affid. Ann Maredon, Augustine de Bewbyn's maid, viii^d.

Affid. Vincent Meringe and his wief, per poll, xvi^d.

P. sig. John Parhagen, vi^l. xxxii^a.

Affid. His wief, per poll, viii^d.

Affid. Mary Martin, his mayde, per poll, viii^d.

Barbara Lumbe, widdow, per poll, viii^d.

Affid. Mary de Boo, widdow, per poll, viii^d.

Affid. Michael Coosen, per poll, viii^d.

Affid. Joan and Francis, his servants, per poll, xvi^d.

Abraham Grannere, per poll, viii^d.

Sir John Spencer, the rich cloth-worker, kept his mayoralty at Crosby Hall in 1594-5;* and it will perhaps be admitted as a reasonable surmise, that the circumstance of Crosby Hall having been so constantly before him may have led to its being made so prominent as it is in the play of *King Richard the Third*, if, indeed, the scenes of that play, in which the Lord Mayor and citizens perform so conspicuous a part, may not be connected in some way with the mayoralty of Sir John Spencer.

On what inducement he fixed himself in that particular part of the city we cannot tell; but we may observe that his house would be about equally distant from the two theatres, the Black Friars and the Globe, which were the places of his most frequent resort, and that he could easily pass to the Globe over the bridge.

This parish escaped the ravages of the fire at a time when, possibly, the house in which he composed his most favourite works might still be standing. These ravages extended very near the confines of St. Helen's, but they did not touch it.

* *Stowe*, 4to. 1603, p. 175.

The great Emathian conquerour bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground !

And though we cannot point to the house, we may yet gaze upon the beautiful or curious remains of early sculpture which are to be found in the church, that must, we may assume, have not unfrequently been objects on which the poet, in his day, looked and meditated.

One of the old monuments in this church no longer exists, but is noticed in Strype's *Enlargement of Stowe*. It is that of George Fastolph, son of Hugh Fastolph, which may possibly have suggested to his mind the name Falstaff, when he found it expedient to withdraw the name of Oldcastle.

The order in which he produced his plays, and his connection with the young nobility, and with other poets of the time, are subjects belonging to his London life, too extensive for these pages, and not congruous with prolusions which relate so much to inquisitions, wills, registers, epitaphs, pedigrees, and other matter merely documentary. We will now, therefore, return to Stratford ; where, in a few years, and long before he had reached the age of threescore and ten, he died in the bosom of his family, and was " quietly inurned " in the church where, fifty-two years before, he had received the rite of Christian baptism. His return to Stratford as a place of permanent residence may be fixed to about the year 1608,* the year of his mother's death, an event which we may reasonably suppose gave him some addition of fortune, since it

* Ward, the Vicar of Stratford, in the few notes which he has left concerning Shakespeare, would seem to place his return to Stratford earlier, as he says that during his retirement there, though he had ceased to be an actor, he furnished the theatre with two plays every year.

is not probable that she, an heiress of a family of distinction, would be united in marriage without some part of her own or her husband's estate being settled upon her, with remainder to her children.

He would find still living at Stratford all the families of the better condition whom he had left there, the Combes, Nashes, Reynoldses, Quineys, Sadlers, Lanes, Bishops, who would form for him a social circle, in which he might find more true enjoyment than in the intercourse which he had had with the ingenious and the great, or in the triumph of his matchless genius over the envious people by whom he had been surrounded. He plainly expresses what were his own feelings when, in *Cymbeline*, one of the latest of his plays, he dilates thus:

Did men but know the elty's usuries,
And feel them knowingly—the art o' the court,
As hard to leave as keep; whose top to climb
Is certain falling, or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling: the toil o' the war,
A pain that only seems to seek out danger
I' the name of fame and honour, which dies i' the war,
And hath as oft a slanderous epitaph
As record of fair act; nay, many times
Doth ill deserve by doing well, what's worse,
Must curt'sey to the censure—they would prize
A life retir'd and free.

This his native town afforded him, still one of the pleasantest in the kingdom, of a class which is however fast hastening to extinction,* but not so pleasant as in his

* Stratford is designated by Camden, *emporium non inclegans*. But when Camden wrote and when the Shakespeares lived, the glory of Stratford was departed. Few towns suffered more by the measures adopted at the Reformation. Before the changes then made, it had a large establishment of priests, the most cultivated and learned order of the community, of whom six, a warden and five fellows, were connected with the parish church, a most beautiful structure, worthy to be as it is the mausoleum of England's most favourite poet,

time, at least the houses of gentry and the public edifices are not in nearly so high a ratio as in his time to the mass of buildings which constitute the town. In the year before,

performing in it the splendid services of the church; and four connected with another ecclesiastical edifice, smaller, but not less beautiful, the Guild Chapel in the heart of the town. There was also the master of the grammar school, who was generally, perhaps always, a clerk. The priests connected with the church lived together in the edifice called the College. The measures of the Reformation deprived Stratford of the benefit of the services of these priests, which had been secured by the liberality of former natives or inhabitants, and gave them instead, only a vicar and his assistant, very poorly endowed. For the guild, with all the beautiful and interesting circumstances connected with it, circumstances of charity, piety, and of the devout recollection of the dead, they got a poor lay corporation. The alma-houses and the grammar-school were allowed to remain. These changes took place just before the Shakespeares became seated at Stratford, and the whole work was accomplished some years before the birth of the poet. Some effect would probably have been produced on the genius of Shakespeare, had he been born while still the splendid pageant of the ancient system were in their high and palmy state.

In the time of Shakespeare Stratford suffered both by pestilence and fire. It is to be hoped that Mr. Malone's happy remark on the security of the infant Shakespeare,

When nature sicken'd and each gale was death,

will never be misobserved by those who shall undertake to write on his life:—"a poetical enthusiast will find no difficulty in believing that, like Horace, he reposed secure and fearless in the midst of contagion and death, protected by the Muses to whom his future life was to be devoted,

" Sacra

Lauroque, collatâque myrto,

Non sine diis animosus infans."

Shakespeare was literally an infant at the time, baptized on the 25th day of April 1564, and on the 11th of July following the first victim was buried. This was an inmate of the house of Thomas Gethin, whose wife soon followed, being buried on the 20th. There were no interments till the 24th, from which day to the end of the month the number buried was 15. In August there were 35 buried, in September 83, in October 58, in November 26, and in December 18. This was in a population scarcely exceeding 1,500 persons.

Soon after the time of Shakespeare attempts were made to give Stratford a commercial character. Andrew Yarrington, the author of various projects of the kind, suggested the making the Avon navigable to Stratford, which was

he had married his eldest daughter to a physician, Dr. John Hall, who appears to have been, in every respect, a man worthy of her, and such as he may be supposed to have delighted to see her united with; a gentleman by birth, one who had travelled abroad, who was a scholar, and in his profession without any formidable rival in the midland counties, being summoned to attend in families of the nobility and superior gentry, in places often far remote from Stratford. We cannot but conceive that this marriage had been with the poet's entire approbation, especially when we find how liberally he endowed this his favourite daughter, and he would look forward with no small interest to the prospect of ensuing pledges of their love, of which the first, and as it proved the only one, was given in this very year of his mother's death and his own probable return to Stratford.

Dr. John Hall is distinguished in the register, when he passed into that file from which even physicians cannot withhold their names, by the term "*Medicus peritissimus*:" and we cannot doubt that he, who aspired, as we shall see, to the honour of reforming the practice of medicine in some particulars, would attract to Stratford some portion of the few men of the time who were devoted to science, while

effected by Mr. Sandys, of Flathury, in 1637. But he had more magnificent schemes for the enlargement of Stratford. In his *England's Improvement*, 4to. 1677, he points out Stratford as a most convenient place for the establishment of a linen manufactory upon a large scale, for immense granaries for the laying up of corn, and for breweries of mum, which were to exceed everything of the kind then in England, and to attract to this country from Brunswick the whole trade in mum. It is amusing to see how this enthusiast is carried away by his wild fancy, confessing that "the getting away the mum trade from Brunswick shews as like a romance as doth the title-page of his book." A new town was immediately to arise, covering thirty acres of Sir John Clopton's lands, and he saw the commencement of it in a few cottages already built. He engraves and publishes a plan of it, and exulting in having fixed the mum trade at Stratford, he names the place New Brunswick. This author, though he writes much about Stratford, does not name Shakespeare.

Shakespeare himself would not be so forgotten of those who had been admitted to the "wit-combats" in which he and Jonson engaged, that some of them would not occasionally follow him to his retreat; so that there is nothing at all improbable in the fact which Ward, the Vicar of Stratford, has related of him that there were occasionally *symposia* at Stratford, at which Jonson and Drayton were present; Drayton, his countryman, and the rather as we know that he was a frequent visitor at Clifford, only a mile from Stratford, where resided his friends the family of Rainsford.

"Nor of dear Clifford's seat, the place of health and sport,
Which many a time hath been the muse's quiet port."

POLY-OLSION.

Whatever may have been the case with respect to the Lucy's, the house of the Rainsfords must have been open to Shakespeare, since it was a house at which Drayton was accustomed to spend not less than three months of every summer.* Sir Henry Rainsford, the head of the family, at the time of which we speak, is described by Aubrey as a learned gentleman, a friend of Lord Falkland, and his lady was of the family of Goodier.

The chief part of the fortunes of the Cloptons, at the time when Shakespeare had retired to Stratford, was enjoyed by a coheirress of the old line, originally Joyce Clopton, born at Stratford, a year and a half before Shakespeare, and married in 1580 to Sir George Carew, a soldier of those times, who served in Ireland, and who was created Lord Carew and Earl of Totness. It does not appear that this lady lived much at Stratford. She outlived the poet many years, and was buried at Stratford in 1637.

Of the Stratford families above enumerated, there are ac-

* This fact appears by the Letters of Drayton to Drummond, printed in the Edinburgh folio of the Works of Drummond, 1711.

counts in the Visitation of Warwickshire of the year 1619, a valuable volume, of which there is a copy in the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, worthy to be studied by those who deem nothing wholly insignificant that can be connected, however remotely, with the name of Shakespeare. But we look in vain among the Stratford families for persons who gained in those days any peculiar distinction, or who can be thought in any degree worthy to be admitted by the poet to intimacy, except as they may have been, and for any thing that appears were, estimable and respectable people; I might say, religious people: but that point I reserve for the present.

In his will, which has never been sufficiently well edited, and the precise effect of which can only be apprehended by means of a fac-simile copy by those who cannot inspect the original, Shakespeare remembers several of his Stratford friends:—To Mr. Thomas Combe, my sword; to Hamlet Sadler, a ring; to William Reynolds, a ring; to Anthony Nash and John Nash, rings also. I have said that the will has never been sufficiently well edited, and I will give one proof—"if my said daughter, Judith, be living at the end of the said three years, or any issue of her body, then my will is, and so I devise and bequeath, &c." It ought to be, "then my will is soe: I devise and bequeath," &c. much more firm, and the diction, probably his own, more pure. The will is full of interlineations and corrections. Besides the gift of the second best bed to his wife, the gifts to Reynolds, and to his fellows the three players, are interlined. Where the name Hamlet Sadler occurs had been originally Richard Tyler the elder.*

* The name of this person has never been mentioned among Shakespeare's friends. I conclude that he was a Stratford man, from finding in the register that "Juditha filia Mri. Ric. Tyler" was interred March 20, 1596.

The will is preserved at Doctors' Commons with the reverence which is due to so precious a document; and I add with pleasure, that in 1835 it was very carefully and skilfully repaired with tracing paper by Mr. Mussett, an officer of that establishment. It has for its companions the original testamentary papers of four other illustrious men, namely, Milton, Johnson, Pitt, and Napoleon.

We learn from the memorandum of probate that an inventory of the goods of Shakespeare was delivered into court. I should not be surprised if this were one day to appear. I have caused all inquiry to be made for it, both at Doctors' Commons and at Lambeth, but without success.

Judith, the younger of the two daughters, married February 10, 1615-6. The will appears to have been begun on February 25, 1615-6, fifteen days after the marriage, and to have been completed on March 25, 1616. Shakespeare died on April 23rd following. There was time, therefore, to have recopied the will, and this must have been intended.

He describes himself as in perfect health when the will was made; yet he dies so soon afterwards. This looks as if his sickness and death were sudden, and gives some countenance to the tradition concerning his death preserved by Ward.

THE COMBES.

OF all the Stratford families, not actually connected in blood or affinity with the Shakespeares, there is no name more frequently brought into connection with his than that of Combe. He bought land of them in 1602. John Combe, called the usurer, left him a legacy of 5*l.* in 1614; and in 1616 Shakespeare gives his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe. But nothing has brought the two names into connection so much as the satirical epitaph which Shakespeare is said to have written on John Combe the usurer, or "John a' Combe," a form in which the name sometimes appears in formal documents :

"Ten in the Hundred lies here ingraved, &c."

Concerning Shakespeare's writing an epitaph on Combe I wish to say a few words, because it seems to me that there is more in the matter than the writers on the life of Shakespeare have perceived. Aubrey gives this doggerel as Shakespeare's; so does Rowe. The variations are immaterial. But Rowe seems to have been misinformed, when he says that it was written in the life-time of Combe, and that Combe never forgave it, which is hardly consistent with his having left a legacy to Shakespeare. Braithwaite prints it in 1618, but without attributing it to Shakespeare, and says that it was fastened on Combe's monument in the church of Stratford.* The earliest authority in which it is actually attributed to Shakespeare, as far as I know, is a manuscript

* *Remains after death, &c.* by Richard Braithwaite, as quoted in Hazlewood's Edition of Drunken Barnaby's Journey, vol. i. p. 237.

of miscellaneous verse, with the date 1630 in the title page, about which time it appears to have been written, where we have the third and fourth lines only, and they are said to be by "Shakespeare on Mr. Combe the usurer."

But the point to which I wish to draw attention is this; that there were other, and we may believe better, verses written by Shakespeare on the death of his friend John Combe, which were to be seen a few years after his death in the church of Stratford, something entirely different from the four lines which have been so often printed. The proof is this:—

In the Lansdowne MS. at the British Museum, No. 213, there is an amusing account of a summer's journey taken by three officers, a captain, lieutenant, and ancient, in 1634. They set out from Norwich, and in the course of their tour visited Stratford, where they went to the church, in which they found the following monuments:—"A monument for the Earl of Totness, and his lady, still living. The monument of Sir Hugh Clopton. A neat monument of that famous English poet, Mr. William Shakespeare, who was born here; and one of an old gentleman, a batchelor, Mr. Combe, *upon whose name the said poet did merrily fann up some witty and facetious verses, which time would not give us leave to sacke up.*" The epitaph, so well known, does not at all answer to this: and there were, therefore, certainly at that period some lines of Shakespeare's in the church, now lost, written in the punning style of the times, allusive to the double sense of the word *Combe*, as the name of the person there interred, and the name also of a certain measure of corn. The words "*name*," "*fan*," and "*sack*," lead directly and unequivocally to this conclusion.

There is endless confusion in Mr. Malone's account of the Combes; and where he is at fault it generally is found that

later writers of the life of Shakespeare are at fault also. It must, however, be admitted that it is not easy to place Shakespeare's John Combe in his proper position in the family pedigree. He was the son of an elder John Combe. This was known to Mr. Malone, and finding at Stratford the baptism of a John, son of John Combe, in 1577, he hastily concluded that this must have been Shakespeare's friend, though there was this difficulty attending the supposition, that the usurer would then have been at the time of his death only thirty-seven. The truth is that the elder John Combe had *two* sons, both named John, and both growing up, one by his first wife, Joyce Blount, born about 1556, who was the usurer, and the other by his second wife, Rose Clopton (aunt to the Countess of Totness), who was the John born in 1577. This removes all the difficulties, and the fact is so distinctly stated by Vincent in his Warwickshire volume,* shewn to me by Sir Charles Young, who now so worthily fills the office of Garter King at Arms, that there can be no doubt about it. This fact, which would not be collected from any of the ordinary sources of information respecting the Combes, will hereafter give the precision which the remarks on this subject in the Variorum want. The younger John settled at Warwick, where he was living in 1619. The elder John died, as we know, at Stratford. The Combe family came to Stratford from Astley, or Ashley, in Worcestershire, about the time of the dissolution of the college of priests, by whom the service was performed in the beautiful chancel of Stratford church, erected expressly for those high devotions. They bought the house in which the priests had lived a collegiate life, and converted it into a private dwelling. John Combe, father of the usurer, had a

* No. 126. f. 109.

grant of arms from Cook, Clarencieux, in 1584, namely, on a field ermine, three lions passant in pale gules. Beside the usurer and some younger children, he had Edward, who had no male issue, and Thomas. This Thomas succeeded to the college, and married Mary Young, a widow, of Kingston Hall, in Shropshire, who had been originally Mary Bonner, alias Savage, in some way connected with the least respectable of the men who laboured to prevent the separation of England from the great Christian Confederacy, Edmund Bonner, the Bishop of London. This Thomas died in 1609, and was the father of another Thomas, his second son, the Combe to whom Shakespeare bequeathed his sword. There were also two daughters, one of whom was the wife of Edward Lane, of Bridgetown, brother of Mary Lane, wife of Sir Richard Bishop, of that place;* and Joyce, who married Edward Boughton, of Causton. William Combe, the eldest son of Thomas, succeeded him in his estates, was High Sheriff of Warwickshire in the year of Shakespeare's decease, and died in 1666, at the age of 80. He was one of those from whom much information might have been gained concerning Shakespeare fifty years after his decease, had there been persons curious enough to make the inquiry. There were other Combes at Stratford, but it is useless to proceed further with them.

* The Bishops were a Roman Catholic family: one of them was a Doctor of the Sorbonne and Bishop of Chalcedon. K. 3. f. 105, in the College of Arms.

THE QUINEYS.

THERE were persons of this name living at Stratford at the time when first the Shakespeares became inhabitants of the town. The name, indeed, appears in the very first document, in which we find John Shakespeare seated at Stratford. The name of Adrian was given to several of them. We find an Adrian Quiney in Mr. Malone's list of the bailiffs of Stratford, serving that office in 1559, 1571, and 1582, and Richard Quiney in 1592 and 1601-2, in which year he died in office. This Richard Quiney had many children, among whom were three sons, Richard, Thomas, and George, who were all young at the time of their father's death.

(1) Richard, baptized at Stratford, October 8, 1587. He married, in 1618, Eleanor, or Elizabeth, (for the authorities are conflicting,) daughter of John Sadler, of Stratford, sister to John Sadler, whose adventure has been already narrated. This Richard Quiney became a partner with Sadler, as grocers or druggists, for both terms are used as if the meaning in those days were the same, at the Red Lion in Bucklersbury. He appeared at the London Visitation of 1634, when his right to coat-armour, three trefoils on a bend, was allowed. He died in May 1656, leaving a very numerous issue,* of whom the eldest was Richard, and the fourth son, William, returned to Stratford, and settled at the village of Shotttery. Adrian, another son, was a colonel in the green regiment of the city of London; and Thomas, the third son, was living in London in 1682. There were also five daughters, all respectably married, one of

* K. 3. f. 97, in the College of Arms.

them to Richard Pile, chief serjeant-surgeon to Charles the Second, and another to a Lilburn, who was cousin-german to Colonel John Lilburn, who, low as the turn of his mind was, was a man of good descent and alliances.

(2) Thomas, baptized February 26, 1588-9. He remained at Stratford. This is the Quiney who married Judith Shakespeare. The smallness of the share of the family fortune given to her, and the restrictive clauses accompanying it, seem to shew that the marriage was not with the full approbation of the father. Yet there was not much inequality of birth, age, or station. The issue was three sons only; (1) Shakespeare Quiney, baptized at Stratford November 3, 1616, and buried there May 8, 1617: (2) Richard, baptized February 9, 1617-8; and (3) Thomas, baptized January 23, 1619-20. These two grandsons of Shakespeare just reached man's estate. They were carried off in the beginning of the year 1639, within a few weeks of each other, Thomas being buried January 28, 1638-9, and Richard on the 26th of February following. Judith, their mother, lived to be an old woman. She died childless, and was buried February 9, 1661-2. She was another of the persons from whom, had curiosity been sufficiently awake, some information might have been gained many years after the poet's decease; but there was very little biographical curiosity in England till Anthony Wood began to collect for his *Athenæ*.

(3) George Quiney, baptized April 9, 1600. He was brought up to the church, became curate of the parish of Stratford, but died in early life, being buried April 11, 1624. Dr. Hall attended him in his illness, and when he records his death in his note-book of cases, he writes, "*Multa frustra tentata; placide cum Domino dormit. Fuit boni indolis, et pro juveni omnifariam doctus.*"* This shews that,

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 613.

notwithstanding Shakespeare's unequal distribution of his property between his two daughters, there was a good understanding between the Halls and Quineys.

The Wheats, a family of baronets at Glympton in Oxfordshire, and originally of Coventry, descended from a daughter of Adrian Quiney, the old bailiff of Stratford, who appears to have been also the father of the first Richard.

THE HALLS.

DR. JOHN HALL has not been traced to his birth-place.* He tells us, that in September, 1632, he was about the 57th year of his age, so that he was born about 1576, and was about seven years older than his wife. He married Susanna Shakespeare on June 5, 1607, and from that time, and probably from a little time before, he lived at Stratford, having extensive practice as a physician, both in Stratford and in the whole country around. He died on November 25, 1635, and was buried with the Shakespeares in the chancel of the church of Stratford.

Of the extent of his practice a better idea might be formed, had we his manuscript book of cases, seen by Mr. Malone, but which since his time has passed out of sight.† The selection from it for publication made by Dr. Hall himself, which was published in 1657,‡ and was twice afterwards re-

* The talbot's heads, a common coat of Hall, appear upon his tomb. Lady Bernard, his daughter, speaks in her will of her cousin Thomas Waller, of Carltoo, in Bedfordshire, gent., and her kinsman Edward Bagley, citizen of London, who may be presumed to have been related to her on the side of the Halls.

† It was placed in Mr. Malone's hands by "his friend the late Dr. Wright" (*Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 506); but it is not said who Dr. Wright was. Mr. Malone must have perceived the curiosity of this manuscript, and have made many extracts from it; but we find in Mr. Malone's *Life* no other copy from it than what is said of George Quiney, the young clergyman who died of consumption, p. 613. It is to be wished that this manuscript might be recovered.

‡ The title of this book is, *Select Observations on English Bodies: or Cases both Empiricall and Historical, performed on many eminent persons in desperate diseases. First written in Latin by Mr. John Hall, a physician living at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, where he was very famous, as also in the counties adjacent, as appears by these Observations, drawn out of*

printed, enables us, however, to form some just idea of the estimation in which the son-in-law of Shakespeare was held. We find in it, that he attended in the families of Combe, Boughton, Wagstaff, Beaufoy, Rainsford, Packington, Sheldon of Beoley, Rous of Rous Lench, Greville of Milcote, Puckering, Brown of Radford, Underhill, Clarke of Broom Court, and Vernon of Henbury. He was called to attend Dr. Thornborough, the Bishop of Worcester, in 1633, when he was about eighty-six years of age. Dr. Holyoke, "which framed the dictionary," was one of his patients. He also attended "Mr. Drayton, an excellent poet, labouring of a tertian," who was cured by an emetic infusion. He attended Mrs. Fines, wife to the eldest son of Lord Say and Sele, whom he describes as "a very religious, excellent woman;" also several of the Catholic family of Fortescu of Salden; and the eldest son of the Countess of Shrewsbury, a child of a year old, whom he cured; "for which the Countess returned him many thanks, and gave him a great reward." In March and April, 1622, he was called to Ludlow, to attend the Earl of Northampton, then President of Wales, and the Countess his wife. He had attended before this time in the family of the Earl, who was the Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire.

This is quite sufficient to shew that Dr. Hall had an extensive and gainful practice, and that we may well conceive of him to have been able, without inconvenience, to pay the honourable tribute to the memory of Shakespeare, in the expensive monument which we may still see in the church of Stratford, which we know to have been raised long

several hundreds of his, as choicest. Now put into English for common benefit by James Cooke, practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery; 12mo. 1657. The second edition was published in 1679, and has a dedication to Fulk, Lord Brooke. The third edition is of the year 1683.

before the death of Dr. Hall, and to whom only of all Shakespeare's connections can such a work be attributed.*

To Dr. Hall also may be attributed the brass to the memory of Anne Shakespeare, the widow of the poet, of whom we hear so little. She lived to the year 1623, and at her death was buried in a grave close by that of her husband.

To him, also, unless, as is far from being improbable, the poet caused the lines to be cut in his own lifetime, devolved the more affecting duty of engraving the words which Shakespeare himself wrote, on the stone which was to cover his remains,† The desire to rest in peace has been felt by the rudest and the most cultivated minds, by the Heathen and the Christian, the saint, the savage, and the sage. Spenser has expressed it with equal fervency at the close of one of his beautiful delineations of the works of mercy:—

* The erection of such a monument cannot but be regarded as a liberal act, by whomsoever it was performed, and as an act, on many accounts, most gratifying to posterity. There can be no reason to doubt that it was raised by Dr. Hall and his wife, the poet's favourite daughter. Yet there was at that period one, who, I can believe, had the natural connections failed in the discharge of this duty, would not have allowed Shakespeare to have remained without a monument. I mean the lady who raised the monuments to the memory of Spenser and Daniel, the celebrated countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery.

† Some despise these lines; to me they appear quite in Shakespeare's vein, and singularly excellent in *their kind*, save that the last line is a little too harsh.

Good friend! for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust inclosed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones;
And curst be he that moves my bones.

Fuller has a singular remark respecting Poets' Epitaphs: "Who hath worse poetry than poets on their monuments?" *Worthies, London*, p. 218. Yet there were not many English poets in his time who had monuments at all, and still fewer who had monuments with inscriptions in verse. Spenser's has the solemn measured prose which characterises all the inscriptions of the great heiress of the Cliffords.

The sixth had charge of them now being dead,
 In seemly sort their corse to engrave;
 And deck with dainty flowers their bridal bed,
 That to their heavenly sponse, both sweet and brave,
 They might appear, when he their souls shall save.
 The wondrous workmanship of God's own mould,
 Whose face He made all beasts to fear, and gave
 All in his hand, even dead, we honour should.
 Ah, dearest God, me grant, I dead be not defoul'd.—F. Q. 1. x. 42.

Dr. Hall, however, must be vindicated in this matter. "On his grave-stone is the following inscription, expressed, as Mr. Steevens observes, in an uncouth mixture of small and capital letters ;"* and then follows a copy, which is indeed uncouth enough. Nothing, however, can be further from being a faithful exhibition of these lines: there are *literæ nexæ* undoubtedly, but the letters are all cut with remarkable truth, evenness, and delicacy, and they are all capitals. Mr. Malone may thank his editor for this disfigurement of his book. He himself knew better; but how many persons have since taken this ludicrous misrepresentation for a true copy.

Dr. John Hall's death was probably sudden, as his will was declared by him nuncupatively on the day he died. It may be seen in Malone, vol. ii. p. 617.

He speaks in it of his manuscripts, which he says he should have given to Mr. Boles had he been here, but as he is not here he gives them to his son-in-law Nash, to dispose of as he pleases. He means, probably, his own medical writings only; but whatever of manuscript Shakespeare left must have been in his hands.

It does not appear to have been observed by any person who has previously written on the history of the poet's family, that there is some good information to be had concerning these manuscripts of Dr. Hall, which also throws some

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 506.

light upon his character, and that of Susannah the poet's favourite daughter, who survived her husband several years. It has already been said that there was a publication of two hundred of Dr. Hall's cases. Mr. Malone speaks of the *third* edition of this book; and it may seem that it did not occur to him to look at the first edition, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. That edition contains some prefatory matter left out in the later editions, which Mr. Malone would not have failed to quote.

There is this testimony from Dr. John Bird, the Linacre Professor:—"The learned author lived in our times, and in the county of Warwick, where he practised many years, and in great fame for his skill, far and near. Those who seemed highly to esteem him, and whom, by God's blessing, he wrought these cures upon, you shall find to be, among others, persons noble, rich and learned. And this I take to be a great sign of his ability, that such who spare not for cost, and they who have more than ordinary understanding—nay, such as hated him for his religion, often made use of him." Cooke, the editor, gives this account:—"Being in my art an attendant to parts of some regiments to keep the pass at the bridge of Stratford-upon-Avon, there being then with me a mate, allied to the gentleman that wrote the following observations in Latin, he invited me to the house of Mrs. Hall, wife of the deceased, to see the books left by Mr. Hall. After a view of them, she told me she had some books left by one that professed physic with her husband, for some money. I told her if I liked them I would give her the money again; she brought them forth, amongst which there was this, with another of the author's, both intended for the press. I being acquainted with Mr. Hall's hand, told her that one or two of them were her husband's, and shewed them her. She denied: I affirmed; till I perceived she began to be offended.

At last I returned her the money. After some time of trial of what had been observed, I resolved to put it to press, according to preconceived intentions, to which end I sent it to London, where, after being viewed by an able doctor, he returned answer, that it might be useful, but the Latin was so abbreviated and false, that it would require the like pains as to write a new one." There is some further information respecting the manner of Cooke's proceedings in preparing the book; and he then goes on to say something concerning Dr. Hall, and a peculiarity of his practice:—"It seems the author had the happiness, if I may so style it, to lead the way to that practice almost generally used by the most knowing, of mixing scorbutics in most remedies. It was then, and I know for some time after, thought so strange, that it was cast as a reproach upon him by those most famous in the profession. He had been a traveller, acquainted with the French tongue, as appeared by some part of some observations, which I got help to make English. His practice was very much, and best amongst most eminent persons in the county where he lived and those adjacent." "I had almost forgot to tell you that these observations were chosen by him from all the rest of his own, which I conjectured could be no less than a thousand, as fittest for public view."

When we consider how near these parties were to Shakespeare, and that the conference described must have taken place in the house in which he died, and with his favourite daughter, this "Address to the Friendly Reader," will not be perused without some degree of interest. The time may have been about 1644.* She died in 1649, so that after all

* Cooke, who gives this account of his interview with Mrs. Hall, was a Puritan surgeon of Warwick, "a congregational member meeting at Warwick Castle"; and for nearly forty years retained in his medical capacity in the family

this MS. did not find its way to the press till several years after her decease.

Dr. John Hall had one only child, a daughter named Elizabeth, baptized at Stratford, February 21, 1607-8; so that she was eight years old at the time of her grandfather's death, in whose will she is particularly noticed. On April 22, 1626, she became the wife of Thomas Nash.

of Lord Brooke. He was the author of a large quarto, entitled *Mellificium Chirurgiæ, or Marrow of Surgery*, of which the fourth edition was printed in 1685.

THE NASHES.

It appears in the visitation of Warwickshire, 1619, that Thomas Nash was settled at Old Stratford early in the reign of Elizabeth, and by a certificate inserted in the Harleian copy of the visitation, that he sprung from a family at Woodstock. His wife was a Bulstrode, and her mother a Middlemore, of Edgebaston, near Birmingham, both good families. The issue was three sons and two daughters.

Frances, one of the daughters, married, in 1584, John Lane, uncle to Edward Lane, who married, as before shown, Mary Combe. There were families of Lane and Green descended of this marriage living at Stratford in 1619; and also Bushells, at Marston in Gloucestershire. Ann, the other daughter, married William Badger, of Bidford Grange.

The sons were Anthony, John, and George.

(1.) Anthony; he is described as of Welcombe. This is the Anthony Nash to whom Shakespeare, in 1616, bequeathed a ring. He lived till 1622. His wife was Mary, daughter of Rowland Bough, of Twining in Gloucestershire, by whom he had:

Thomas, baptized June 20, 1593. He was a student of Lincoln's Inn: appeared at the visitation of 1619, and entered his arms and pedigree. In 1626, he married Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's granddaughter, and dying April 4, 1647, he was buried with the Shakespeares in the chancel of the church at Stratford. He had no children.

John, baptized October 15, 1588; living in 1619.

Mary, baptised April 15, 1592, buried February 10, 1610-1.

Anne, who married on June 6, 1609, William, son of Edward Cox.

(2.) John Nash, the second son of the first Thomas, had also a ring bequeathed to him by Shakespeare. He died in 1623, having had several children, some of whom were entered at the visitation of 1619. His wife is described as the widow of Francis Bellows. He was of Stratford.

(3.) George, a London merchant, who by Mary his wife, a daughter of Edward Cox, a cloth-worker in Southwark, had Edward Nash, a captain in the Parliamentary army, father of Mary Nash, who married Sir Reginald Foster, Baronet, and had issue, Jane, wife of Franklin Miller, Esq., who died in 1731, and was buried at Stratford.

Thomas Nash, the only member of this family to whom much interest belongs, has a grave-stone and inscription in the church of Stratford, and his will is published by Malone.*

Elizabeth, his widow, was married at Billesley near Stratford, on June 5, 1649, to John Bernard, Esquire, residing at Abington, near the town of Northampton, afterwards knighted.

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 619. No connection has been traced between this family of Nash and either of the Thomas Nashes who are connected with the literature of the period—Thomas Nash, who had the dispute with Gabriel Harvey, or Thomas Nash, the author of a curious volume entitled *Quaternio*, 4to. 1638.

THE BERNARDS.

It is not proposed to enter at any length into the genealogy of this family, which has already been investigated in a very satisfactory manner by Mr. Baker of Northampton in his unfortunately incomplete work "*The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton.*"* They were of antient descent, and their alliances had been with families of good account. Suffice it that we proceed at once to Francis Bernard, who died in 1602, and had a very numerous family. The eldest son died before him without issue, so that he was succeeded in the estate at Abington by his second son Baldwin Bernard. This Baldwin married one of the Fulwoods of Warwickshire, a daughter and coheir of John Fulwood of Ford Hall by Catharine his wife, daughter and coheir of Thomas Dabridgecourt,† by whom he had Sir John Bernard, who married Shakespeare's last surviving descendant, and two other children, William and Catharine, of whom little or nothing is known.

* Vol. I. p. 8.

† The descent from the Dabridgecourts brought the Bernards into connection with Dabridgecourt Belcher, a dramatic writer, on whose death there was an Inquisition taken at Old Stratford, November 23, 19th of James the First, abstracted in Cole's Escheats at the Museum, vol. v. f. 479. His father, William Belcher, brother-in-law of John Fulwood, was a lover of heraldry and a poet, if the name may be allowed to a person of whose compositions all that is known are a few Latin lines prefixed to Gwillim's Heraldry.

Armorum primus *Winkyn the wordes* artem
Protulit, et ternis linguis lustravit eandem :
Accedit *Leighus* : concordat per-hene *Boswell*,
Armoriqne suo veri dignatur Honoris,
Clarorum clypeis et cristis ornat : eamque
Pulchre nobilitat, Generis Blazonia *Ferni*.
Armorum proprium docuit *Wirleius* et nsum.

Baldwin Bernard died in 1610, when his son and heir was only six years of age. The mother took to her second husband Sir Edmund Hampden (an uncle of the famous John Hampden), who lived at Abington, and has a monument in the church. Sir John Bernard was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Sir Clement Edmunds, who was Clerk of the Privy Council, and his second Shakespeare's granddaughter. The dates are as follows: the first wife died in March, 1642. He married the daughter of Dr. Hall by Susanna Shakespeare, June 5, 1649. She was buried at Abington, February 17, 1669-70, about which time Sir John Bernard sold Abington. He was buried March 6, 1673-4. He was only Mr. Bernard when he married Shakespeare's granddaughter, being knighted on November 25, 1661.*

Lady Bernard, when she became a member of this family, found three unmarried daughters, all young, who must have fallen very much under her care; they were coheirs of Sir John Bernard. Eight years passed after she became their mother-in-law before any of them married, but they all married during her life-time; namely, Elizabeth in 1658 to Henry Gilbert of Lockoe, in the county of Derby, Esquire; Mary in 1657 to Thomas Higgs of Colesbourne, in the county of Gloucester, Esquire; and Eleanor in 1659 to Samuel Cotton of Henwick, in the county of Bedford, Esquire, all equal and suitable connections. The will of Lady Bernard is printed by Malone,† in which she notices Hatha-

* A Francis Bernard, gent., resided at Shottery at the time of Sir John Bernard's marriage with Mrs. Nash. His will, dated Feb. 14, 1683, was proved before the Vicar of Stratford, in which he gives to his wife Alice a house in Wood-street, Stratford, a half yard-land in Shottery Field, and 100*l.* in money. He makes his son Francis Bernard his executor, and names another son, Samuel, and two daughters, Mary Timpson and Priscilla Rogers; also two sisters, Susanna Beddom and Elizabeth. Unfortunately the Stratford register of wills does not commence before 1660.

† *Boncell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 625.

ways and other relations. For her transactions respecting the property she inherited at Stratford I must also refer to Mr. Malone. Lady Bernard had no children, and on her death, in 1670, there was an utter extinction of the progeny of William Shakespeare, which thus endured only fifty-four years after his decease. It is rather a striking fact in the history of the human race, that when there are men preeminently great, the issue, if any, generally becomes soon extinct:—Chaucer, Sidney, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Bacon, Locke, Newton, in fact nearly all the great *inventors* have no one left to claim them as ancestors.

A point which has I think escaped the attention of all persons who have previously written on the character and fortunes of those who were the posterity and personal representatives of the poet is, that there existed among them a strong religious feeling, if they fell not into the ranks of those who constituted what is called the puritan party in the English Church, one of whose principles it was that theatrical entertainments were to be eschewed, and who would not, I fear, have so much philosophy as to draw a broad line of distinction between the drama as administering, when exhibited, to the amusement of thoughtless spectators, and the drama when considered as consisting of noble poems full of wisdom and high instruction presented in its most attractive form, fitted to minister matter for the satisfaction, delight, and careful study of the most serious minds in their private retirements. And it has sometimes occurred to me that the entire disappearance of all manuscript of Shakespeare, so entire that no writing of his remains except his name, and only one letter ever addressed to him, is in some way connected with the religious turn which his posterity took, in whose eyes there would be much to be lamented in what they must I fear have

considered a prostitution of the noble talents which had been given him. There are abundant proofs in the writings of Shakespeare that he viewed many things under the aspect in which the religious man places them, and there is no reason to suppose that he did not give his presence at the public services of religion. But still, if we may believe what his contemporaries have related of him, or if we read his own writings, we shall find that there was a license admitted by him which does not easily admit of defence, and which was unsuitable at least to the character of one for whom it is claimed that he was the religious man. At any rate he is not chargeable at any period of his life with those restraints and austerities which the puritans deemed essential to the perfection of the christian character. Their pretensions, extravagancies, and excesses had indeed been the frequent object of his severest satire: more especially in the *Twelfth Night*, where in Malvolio he has made the puritan at once detestable and ridiculous; so that it may easily be conceived he would be looked on with a certain degree of jealousy by those who took a more severe view of what constituted a right christian practice, and by such persons his return to Stratford would not be hailed with much satisfaction; and Stratford, as I shall immediately shew, was esteemed by the puritan ministers around to be a place at that time peculiarly requiring the efforts of a zealous and uncompromising ministry.

Of the character of Bracegirdle, Heycroft, Barton, and Bromhall, who in the reign of Elizabeth were successively vicars of Stratford, we know very little; but in 1596 Richard Bifield was presented, and then appears to have begun a change in the religious character of the place. The Bifields were among the most zealous ministers in the puritan section of the English Church, and the name has passed even into a bye-word among persons who are certainly, whatever else

they may have been, not chargeable with any particular excess of religious severity. To this the christian name *Adoniram*, borne by one of them who filled the office of scribe to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, has contributed. Adoniram was grandson of the vicar of Stratford, namely, son of Nicholas Bifield, also a divine, and a remarkably zealous minister, who died in early life. The vicar of Stratford had another son who bore his own name, who sat in the Assembly of Divines, and who lived long enough to be ejected from his living of Long Ditton, in Surrey, with the other puritan ministers, by the operation of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. This Richard was born at Stratford.*

Bifield remained vicar to about 1605. His successor was John Rogers, who probably performed the funeral service at the burial of Shakespeare, in the chancel of his church. In 1619, he was succeeded by Thomas Wilson, B. D., who appears to have been vicar till 1640.

Curates of Stratford, during this period, were William Gilbert, alias Higgess, who died in 1611, Edward Woolmer, Richard Watts, George Quiney, and Simon Trapp. The names of several other clergymen occur in the parish register, some of whom may have been settled at Stratford as curates.

Simon Trapp is said by Mr. Wheler† to have been the curate from about 1624 to 1642, when he died. He was the intimate friend and relative of another divine of this name, who describes him "as his near and dear kinsman, both in the flesh and in the faith." This was John Trapp, who settled at Stratford about 1623, and is supposed to have been the

* The first wife of Bifield, the vicar, was buried at Stratford, September 23, 1597; and on November 30, in the same year he married Margaret Coates. The testimony of the register is clear.

† *A Guide to Stratford-upon-Avon*, 12mo. 1814, a very superior book to many which bear a similar title.

master of the grammar school. For the last thirty years of his life, he had the living of Weston-upon-Avon about two or three miles from Stratford, but still continuing, it is believed, to live at Stratford. There are many published writings of this John Trapp, who was one of the most zealous of the Puritan ministers, and a strong adherent of the parliament when the two great principles came into open collision. His writings in practical divinity are very numerous, and the prefaces were sometimes dated at Stratford and sometimes at Weston. He takes occasion to express his disapproval of masquerades, and assemblies for dancing, and he condemns expressly theatrical performances.

But Stratford was not left to its own ministers in those days of zealous preaching. As if to counteract the influence which the residence of such a man as Shakespeare might create, the puritan ministers of the neighbourhood established a fortnight lecture in the church of Stratford, which attracted gentle and simple, and seems to have contributed much to the creation, or the strengthening of, the puritan spirit in the town; and when we recollect how, above all places, *Banbury* and the puritans there had been held up to ridicule in the theatres, it will appear singular that this lecture was first established by Dr. Robert Harris, who for forty years had the living of Hanwell, near Banbury, and whose wife was a sister of Whateley, the famous puritan divine of that town, who joined Dr. Harris in carrying on the Stratford lecture.

The writer of the life of Dr. Harris distinctly informs us that "for some time he held a lecture at Stratford-upon-Avon, every other week, unto which there was a great resort both of the chief gentry, and choicest preachers and professors in those parts; and amongst them that noble and learned knight Sir Thomas Lucy, of Cherlecote, had always a great

respect for him.”* This Dr. Harris became Head of Trinity College, in Oxford.

In the account of the life of Whateley of Banbury, it is said that he and several of his brethren delivered a lecture at Stratford-upon-Avon; and that on account of its great usefulness it was continued many years; till at length the Bishop of Worcester interfered, finding that it had the effect of urging this portion of his diocese to non-conformity, and put the lecture down. Scudder, the author of the *Life of Whateley*, and who was probably another of the puritan divines who were engaged in this lecture, says that many thousand persons were converted and established by Mr. Whateley's labours.†

In the neighbouring towns, particularly Coventry and Evesham, there were the same means used, and with the same success. Those sermons which, when cast into another form, became the very popular book, entitled *The Practice of Piety*, were preached in 1611, at Evesham, by Lewis Bayley, the minister of the place.‡

The fires at Stratford, of which there were three in the poet's life-time, would have the effect, which great calamities generally produce, of inducing a spirit of seriousness. If we may believe Thomas Beard, the author of the book entitled *The Theatre of God's judgments*, Stratford had, previous to the first fire, been noted for prophaneness and contempt of the ministry.—“Stratford-upon-Avon was twice on the same day twelve-month (being the Lord's day) almost consumed with fire; and chiefly for prophaneing the Lord's day, and contemning his word, by the mouth of his faithful minis-

* Clark's *Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines*, 3rd edit. 1677, p. 220.

† Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 8vo. 1813. Vol. ii. p. 436.

‡ *Ath. Ox.* First edit. vol. i. p. 485.

ter.”* These two fires occurred in 1594 and 1595, when Shakespeare was living in London, but the third occurred while he was living at Stratford, it happening on July 9,† 1614, when fifty-four houses were burnt.

We have historical evidence that the puritan spirit, probably as the effect of these lectures, entered the families of Quiney and Sadler. Mrs. Walker, in her autobiographical remains before quoted, gives an account of a religious melancholy into which she fell: in this state she consulted her aunt Mrs. Quiney “a gracious, good woman,” who, “from her own experience in the like case,” gave her good advice. This Mrs. Quiney was a Sadler of Stratford, born in 1594. Mrs. Walker says that all her three Stratford aunts were “eminently wise and good women;” and of Mr. Quiney himself she says that he was a “religious good man.”

And coming to the point to which all this is but introductory, it seems that the same spirit possessed the family of Shakespeare, meaning by that word, his daughter Mrs. Hall, and his granddaughter Lady Bernard. It is clear that Dr. Hall himself was a religious man, notwithstanding the scandal under which some of his profession in those days lay. His general character, as delivered by his contemporaries, and such special acts as his known care to provide for himself and his family a pew in the church of Stratford,* and his

* 4to. 1631, p. 555.—This statement of Beard's receives some slight corroboration by the following entry in the register :—“ 1601, April 27: buried, Thomas Bailey: slain at the sign of the Swan, upon the Sabbath Day, at the time of the sermon, being there drinking, &c.”

† This is the date of the fire usually assigned; but in South's Common Place Book, Lansd. MS. in Brit. Mus. 695, f. 29 b, it is said to have occurred on the first of August. The writer speaks as if the whole town was destroyed, which was not the fact.

‡ Wheler's *Guide*: where it appears that Dr. Hall obtained a faculty for a pew from the Bishop of Worcester, which involved him in a dispute with the

gift of a pulpit to that church, which may have been for the use of the puritan lecturers from Banbury and its neighbourhood, all seem to point to this conclusion concerning him. When speaking of Trapp, the puritan minister just named, in his book of cases, he adds this commendation, that he was "for piety and learning second to none." And it may have been observed that Cooke speaks of "those employing Dr. Hall who hated him for his religion;" by which he may mean, not the Catholic gentry only who consulted him, but the Bishop of Worcester also, who was one of his patients, and other persons, gentry of Warwickshire, who were impatient of the influence which the puritans were gaining in the reign of Charles the First, and who foresaw what soon came to pass, that it was producing a division in the Church which would soon become a state of actual and deadly warfare. So that we may place the name of Dr. Hall among the puritans of the time.

To the religious character of Mrs. Hall, we have the testimony of her epitaph :—

Witty above her sex : but that's not all :
 Wise to salvation was good Mrs. Hall.
 Something of Shakespeare was in that ; but this
 Wholly of Him with whom she's now in bliss.

Surely it is not straining words to make them conform to a theory, to say that these words imply that there was something more than the ordinary measure of piety—what in those days would have obtained for her, from the less devout, the name of puritan—and that she was one of the converts made by the puritan lecturers.

She died in 1649, a month after the marriage of her only

corporation, who claimed the pew as taking up the part of the church where the wives of the magistrates used to sit. The dispute came to a formal hearing in 1635.

child to Sir John Bernard. This marriage introduced the daughter to a puritan family; and it may be conjectured that it was community of religious sentiment between Sir John Bernard and Mrs. Nash, which led to their union. Certain, however, it is that both Sir John and his lady and his daughters (at least one of them) had imbibed that spirit.

The foundation of the spirit of puritan disaffection to the constitution of the Church of England had been laid at Abington in the reign of James the First, by Fletcher, the vicar, who made efforts, with other divines in the neighbourhood, to collect the ministers of Northamptonshire into particular Presbyterian classes. Some time after him, and during the time that Lady Bernard was mistress of the house of Abington, John Howes, who is described as "a learned able divine, and moderate Presbyterian," became the incumbent of Abington, and remained so during the life of Sir John Bernard and his lady. In 1657, he printed his sermons, entitled *Christ God-man*, with a dedication to Sir John Bernard. We might, possibly, collect something respecting him, and something respecting his lady also, from this dedication; but the book is not easily to be obtained; and it is but the common fate of inquirers into English literature, when they resort to the library of the British Museum for any of the rarer English books, rich as it is in some departments, to return mortified and disappointed. The family connections of Sir John Bernard were among the leading puritan and parliamentary families. His mother, we have seen, had married a Hampden, which brought him into close connection with the Cromwells and the Wallers. Sir John Bernard was slightly known to Baxter, the great puritan minister, and sent him not less than twenty pieces,* when

* *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, folio 1696, part iii. p. 60.

he was taken under a Conventicle Act in 1669, and committed to the New Gaol, Clerkenwell.

There is in the church of Abington a regular sonnet which appears to me of great beauty, so that it might almost be attributed to Milton, which I will cite for the double purpose of drawing it forth from its obscurity, and for the illustration it affords of the character of Sir John Bernard's mother, on whose tomb it is inscribed :

SCIO CUI CREDIDI.

Earth unto Earth is now returned : a doom
 Long since decreed : yet, what was more divine
 In me—my purer soul—this narrow room
 Nor can, nor must this hollow vault confine.
 Only to God who gave 't I that resign,
 Reposing here my Dust ; whose smallest grain
 Even He that bought it will revive again.
 How long, and when shall that blest union be,
 And I enjoy that I do most aspire—
 Most sure it is—and I will wait to see
 Performed that promise, nor will I inquire :
 Death cannot rob or frustrate my desire.
 Eternal life will come with Christ mine Head ;
 Nor can I then but live that now am dead.

This lady died in 1634.

We have curious and decisive evidence that this spirit existed in one of the daughters of Sir John Bernard, who must have been brought up under the care of her mother-in-law, Lady Bernard. This was Elizabeth, the eldest, who married a gentleman in Derbyshire, Henry Gilbert, of Nether Lockoe, in the parish of Spondon. Her fortune was £2,000.* She died eight years after her marriage, before Lady Bernard. Her husband, Mr. Gilbert, wrote some account of her, which he entitled, "Some brief Remarques on the most Christian life and pious death of Mrs. Elizabeth Gilbert, eldest daughter of Sir John Bernard, of Abington, near

* See settlement after marriage in Additional MSS. in the British Museum, 6692, fol. 217.

Northampton." I have perused this manuscript. It contained an account of Mr. Gilbert's first introduction, their courtship, and subsequent marriage. When she was first introduced to her house at Lockoe, her father and mother-in-law accompanied her. Much is said of her extraordinary charity and piety and her contempt of the attractions and amusements of the world. In 1663, she was in London : she went to see the king and queen at dinner, and to kiss their hands, but she was so sick of the vanities of the place that she could not be persuaded to stay more than a week. A more remarkable fact follows :—"They would needs persuade her to go see a play in the afternoon. With much difficulty she consented, and went to the Duke's Play-house, by Lincoln's Inn Fields ; but would not go into a box, nor far into the pit, but sat in the entrance near unto the door. I think the play was *The Five Hours' Adventure*, but I remember she was very weary of it, though it was the first and last she ever saw in her life." One should have liked to have known how one of the finer moral plays of Shakspeare would have been received by a lady who was almost one of his family, fifty years after his decease.

Mrs. Gilbert's piety soon became of the severest cast ; a cloud of religious melancholy settled on her mind. The manuscript contains a long and sad account of her extreme distress under the apprehension that she had committed the unpardonable sin. She died young.

Now suppose that Shakspeare left unfinished works, precious leaves in which were preserved for future use lines as they were spun by his ever-working mind. Would they have been valued as they deserved to be valued by persons such as these, in whose hands they would fall and remain by regular succession. Would they not even sorrow over some things which had escaped him, while he thought only of lend-

ing his influence to check the excesses into which Protestantism was running in certain quarters, as on the other hand he threw ridicule on some absurd pretensions of the Romanists. His greatest admirers will think that he may have gone too far, and there are in his plays passages which nothing can ever fully excuse. In what he sought, however, in respect of his influence on the state of religion in his time, there was manifested his usual good sense, the maintenance of what is good in religion, but the exposure of imposture and extreme folly, even though it came in the guise of religion. But this would not satisfy the puritan mind. And this leads me to notice briefly the information, remarkable, if true, of Davies, who has before been quoted, that Shakespeare "died a Papist." He might be a Papist as Harsnet and the elder Crashaw and Laud might be accounted Papists, for in those days there were many who thought that not to be a Puritan was not to be a Protestant: not to fall in with the excesses of puritanism, which, in truth, was nothing more nor less than an extension of what most persons in those times deemed the Protestant principle, would be to many to desert the cause of Protestantism altogether, which might easily give occasion to the rumour of which Davies has preserved the memory. The late Mr. Charles Butler, eager to draw all men of eminence into his net, places Shakespeare's name in the front of eminent English poets who were Roman Catholics; but the truth probably was, that he rested at a point between Rome and Geneva, rejecting what was bad, and receiving what was good from both.

It may be added, that Mr. Gilbert, who wrote the account of Mrs. Gilbert, was the grandfather of John Gilbert Cooper, Esquire, a gentleman of fortune in Nottinghamshire, author of a poem on Shakespeare, which is printed among the Commendatory Verses in *Boswell's Malone*. He was an

intimate friend of Garrick. Abington too, where Shakespeare's granddaughter lived so many years, is connected with the name of Garrick. The estate was bought of Sir John Bernard by William Thursby, Esquire, from whom it descended to John Harvey Thursby. In his time Garrick sometimes visited at Abington; and on one occasion he planted a mulberry tree, still remaining, in the lawn, with this inscription:—"This tree was planted by David Garrick, Esquire, at the request of Anne Thursby, as a growing testimony of their friendship, 1778."

And here end these Prolusions, which would require some apology for the minuteness of some portions of the inquiries, and for the merely speculative nature of other portions, were the subject anything less than Shakespeare, concerning whom it seems to be agreed that it is desirable every thing should be known that can be recovered, and that persons should be put on every road of inquiry that can be supposed to lead to any information respecting him. My aim has been to give a greater degree of precision to the accounts which we have of the families with whom he was connected, and to correct some of the errors concerning them. This will be found to be done. Much new information will also be found respecting the Shakespeares who lived at the period when the grandfather of the poet lived, who has been the object of so much fruitless inquiry; and a probability, higher than any which has hitherto been propounded, is presented respecting that particular branch of the Shakespeare tree on which this highly-honoured name is to be hung. The *status* of his mother's family, the Ardens of Wilmecote, is more satisfactorily exhibited, and their history is cleared from some misapprehensions. In particular, the grounds on which it has been maintained, ever since the time of Mr. Malone,

that Shakespeare was a descendant of the Webbs, of the neighbourhood of Stratford, and by them related to the Visitation family of Fulwood of Little-Alne, are shewn to have been quite unsubstantial; and that we have still to look for the wife of Robert Arden of Wilmecote, the mother of Mary Shakespeare. The time of the first settlement of the family at Stratford is more precisely ascertained, and a probability of the highest kind is raised that the father of the poet did, before his son's birth, reside in the street in Stratford called Henley-street, which seems to remove all difficulty and uncertainty respecting the traditionary birth-place. A probability is also shewn, on new evidence, that the father of the poet did, in the course of his life, leave the town of Stratford, and establish himself in the neighbouring village of Clifford. More distinctness, it is believed, is given to the evidence which the records of the Heralds afford to the generous descent of Shakespeare, both on his father's and his mother's side, and reasons given for his birth-prejudices, family-prejudices, and education-prejudices, having had all an aristocratical leaning. Some conjectures, worthy perhaps of consideration, are thrown out respecting his relations to the family of Lucy, and respecting the degree of credit which ought to be given to the documents published from the repositories at Bridgewater House. Proof is given now, for the first time, that towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, Shakespeare lived in that interesting locality, the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where is Crosby-hall, and other remains of old London. The history of the family of Combe is cleared from the perplexities which Mr. Malone knew not how to remove, and the existence proved of verses, now however lost, but perhaps one day to be recovered, written by the poet on his friend's monument, more worthy of him than the mean lines of which he is said

to have been the author. A few unnoticed particulars are given respecting the poet's descendants and representatives; and in particular attention is drawn to the rise amongst them of a strong religious feeling, which brings them almost, if not altogether, within the category of puritans; and the possible bearing of this on the disappearance of all manuscript writings of the poet.

This is not much, but it is something in a field already so assiduously laboured. The search for truth here has been among writings of all the least-inviting—parish registers, wills, account rolls, visitation books; and it is little but what such writings can afford, and deductions from them, that will be found in these pages. Another time I shall ask the reader to meet me in new and pleasanter pastures, when we shall have some of the master-works of this master-spirit before us, and I endeavour to throw some fresh light upon them, as I have now done upon the life of the poet, and those most nearly connected with him.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the earlier sheets of these Prolusions were in type the first and concluding volume has appeared of the elegant edition which Mr. Collier has superintended of the Works of Shakespeare. It contains a new and valuable life of the poet, with original notices of his father and the Shakespeare family generally; as well as of the *Ardens*, of whom, notwithstanding their descent attested by the heralds, it is so difficult to obtain the information that is satisfactory.

Certain papers relating to the Shakespeares and the *Ardens* have been communicated to Mr. Collier from Warwickshire; and if at last it is but little that they yield of new and sub-

stantial information, yet will those who are listening for every whisper in the breeze that conveys a new truth respecting the object of a nation's almost idolatry receive and hail that truth, and feel themselves grateful to him by whom it comes.

These papers enable Mr. Collier to propound a more reasonable conjecture than any which has yet been offered to the public concerning the father of John Shakespeare and the grandfather of the poet. There was, it seems, a Richard Shakespeare living at the proper time, who was a tenant of the Ardens on some small property at Snitterfield, near Stratford. Mr. Collier conjectures that this is the parent of John, a conjecture exceedingly worthy of attention, but still leaving this very difficult question undetermined.

Another of these papers presents us with the names of the "other children" of Robert Arden, the poet's grandfather. They were all daughters. In 1550 the father settled property upon them. Their names were Agnes Stringer, who had before been the wife of John Hewyns, Joan Lambert, Catherine Elkins, Margaret Webbe, and Joyce Arden. These ladies were aunts to Shakespeare, his mother's sisters, and those who have favourable opportunities of doing so would do well to trace them out, especially by the wills of themselves or their husbands, in which it is by no means improbable that some mention of Shakespeare may occur at a period of his life in which we are so much uninformed respecting him. Their children, too, should be sought for, who stood in the relation of cousin-german to Shakespeare, and who, living as they appear to have done, in the vicinity of Stratford, may be presumed to have been his associates and intimates in those his early Stratford years.

On the question of the circumstances of John Shakespeare, the papers newly discovered shed no useful light; for it can hardly be that the sale in 1579 of a small interest in his wife's property at Snitterfield for £4, can be taken as any proof of decayed or decaying fortunes.

Having written so fully on the effect of the evidence contained in the papers at the College of Arms, and having been led to conclusions different from those of Mr. Collier, I might be content to leave the subject (as I do several other things in which we do not accord,) to the judgment of the reader; but as this matter is of great importance to the right understanding of the question respecting the *status* of the Shakespeare family, I must add, that Mr. Collier appears to me to have misread a very material word in one of the heralds' papers, and that this misreading is of great importance in his subsequent reasoning: "This John sheweth a patent in Clarence Cook's own hand." That word "patent" I read "patierne," for pattern, at the same time admitting fully that the manuscript is not a very clear one. And that "pattern" is what is meant, and not "patent," appears clearly, not only from the absence of any such patent from the list of Cook's grants, but from the plain fact, that if Cook had granted a patent of arms in 1569 we should not have found the Shakespeares applying for a grant in 1596. What is meant, I conceive to have been a tracing or tricking of the traditionary coat of Shakespeare, made by Cook, such as there are many come down from those times, having no official validity, and that it was such a tricking only that John Shakespeare exhibited. Farther, when Mr. Collier charges a certain degree of disingenuousness on the heralds he is perhaps not aware that the charge falls on a more worthy name than that of Dethick, one to whom a learned foreigner, I mean Gruter, expressly applies, as his distinguishing praise, the words

cui pectora lacte

Et non calcata candidiora nive.

II.

THE COMEDIES.

THE TEMPEST.

DATE.—This beautiful Comedy has usually been considered one of the latest efforts of the muse of Shakspeare. My inquiries have led me to a very different conclusion.* So far from being the work of a late period of the poet's life, it appears to me to be an early work, the growth of what we may call the youth of his dramatic life; and, indeed, that, of all the plays which are wholly his, it is nearly the first in point of time, as it is indisputably among the first in the order of merit.

In the inquiries which have led to this conclusion I have laid no stress upon the fact that when his fellow-performers Heminge and Condell collected all the acknowledged plays of Shakspeare in a folio volume they gave the first place

* Most of the ensuing facts and arguments have already appeared in a tract of which a very small number of copies were printed in 1839, chiefly for private distribution, entitled *A Disquisition on the Scene, Origin, Date, &c. &c. of Shakspeare's Tempest. In a Letter to Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. from the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.* This circumstance will account for the more controversial air of the remarks on this play than of the remarks on other plays which follow, the Disquisition having had the benefit of a good deal of adverse criticism. But the very nature of a work like this, which is supplementary to many previous undertakings, and is intended expressly to *correct errors and extend knowledge* in respect of the writings of this great poet, must necessarily require that there shall be much throughout the whole that is more or less controversial, and that I shall not unfrequently appear in the light in which some persons have been pleased to place me, as "opposed to every one else." I value these writings so, that a higher compliment, or one which I should value more, could not be paid me, than that I had discovered a truth concerning them concealed from former inquirers, or that I had cleared away mistakes of either early or recent critics. My aim is the discovery and establishment of what is the truth; and of all kinds of writings none ought to be of less esteem than those which, with whatever view, are intended to discourage critical research, or to defend proved errors.

to *The Tempest*, because the principle on which they proceeded in their arrangement cannot be determined. I have also not thought it necessary to dwell much on the signs of the poet's advancement in the dramatic art, or of immaturity, seeing how uncertain these signs are, as is proved by the conclusions to which so many persons have been led who trusted to them being shewn to be erroneous by the discovery of actual dates in external evidence that were wholly unquestionable. It will moreover hardly be contended that Shakespeare's powers do not appear as fully developed in some of the works which are known to belong to the earlier period of his life as in those which he produced when he had been long practised in dramatic composition. When we look at such a play, for instance, as *The Merchant of Venice* we are forced to admit that he attained perfection at once in his own style of dramatic composition; and few would probably contend that he who produced so fine a play as that is might not at the same period of his life have produced *The Tempest* also. Were not such indications when the object is to settle the chronological order proved to be so delusive, even when submitted to the most refined and penetrating intellects, it might be said that this play is not without indications of inexperience in the dramatic art quite sufficient to be used as a counter-argument against any evidence of this kind which those who prefer to rely on this species of evidence might produce. Thus, one practised in the dramatic art would hardly have given us such a scene as the second of the first act, where we have a long dialogue between Prospero and Miranda, which is plainly intended for the information of the audience, and not to carry on the business of the play. This scene, beautiful as it is in itself, affords the most striking instance of this too common violation of the rules of the dramatic art that is to be found in

any of the works of Shakespeare. There is also some want of dramatic skill in the extreme abruptness of the charge which Prospero makes against Ferdinand—

Thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow'st not ; and hast put thyself
Upon this island, as a spy, to win it
From me the lord on't.

Act i. Sc. 2.

Nor, at a later period of his life, would he have introduced such direct imitations of Ovid and Virgil as we have in the address of Prospero to the Spirits when he announces that his connection with them has ceased :

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, or groves, &c.

and, though less obviously, the speech of Ariel as a harpy at the disappearance of the banquet :

I and my fellows
Are ministers of fate, &c.

Still less should we have had those constrained passages in which we have the description of Ferdinand swimming to shore, and of the working of a guilty conscience in the mind of Alonzo, in which Shakespeare appears to have put himself in competition with Ariosto, and to have made an effort to excel him, in which he has overleaped himself.

We nowhere find it stated specifically on what it is that those critics rely who contend that the internal evidence derived from the style and language indicates that *The Tempest* is a late production.* This is affirmed, but the proof is not given,

* Thus Mr. Collier : " It seems to us likewise that the internal evidence, derived from style and language, clearly indicates that it was a late production." — *Shakespeare's Works*, vol. i. p. 3. Such kind of assertions are easily made, and as easy would it be to write thus, substituting " an early " for " a late." Coleridge, also, as I learn from Mr. Collier, thought it one of Shakespeare's latest works, " judging from the language only," *Ib.* p. 7 ; but then Coleridge's theory on the chronological order was ever changing, as all theories on this subject must necessarily be which are founded on principles such as his. Mr. Collier adds, " Schlegel was of the same opinion, without, however, assigning any dis-

and affirmations in questions of this kind go for little. The evidence on which it has been assigned by the master-critics in this department, Malone and Chalmers, to a late period is of an entirely different character, and of that kind by which I venture to say that questions of this nature can be alone determined. Leaving, then, the preceding remarks to produce what effect they may on the mind of the reader, I proceed to evidence of a kind similar to that which has been in some instances so successfully used in these inquiries.

The Tempest never having been printed till it was included in the great collection of the plays in 1623, we have no assistance from that which is the best of all evidence, dates in title-pages or entries in the books of the Company of Stationers. We have no notice of its being represented in any diary or account-book of the time previous to the year 1611, in which year on All-Hallows-Night it was performed at court.*

Were none but plays that were *new* performed at court, this would be a decisive proof of the late date of *The Tempest*, and it would be in vain to contend against it; but the same volume which affords us the information that this play was represented in 1611 shews us also that *The Merchant of Venice* was represented at court in 1605, when it had been many years upon the stage, and that other plays, *not new*, were represented in the same presence also.

All, therefore, that this entry proves is that *The Tempest* existed under that name in 1611, leaving the date of its composition open to inquiry.

ting reason." *Id.* As far as I can find, no distinct and intelligible reason for the opinion of the late date of this play has ever been given, except the mistaken one of Malone and Chalmers, another of Mr. Collier, and a third of a Quarterly Reviewer, all of which will be noticed hereafter.

* *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*; by P. Cunningham; printed for the Shakespeare Society, 8vo. 1842, p. 210.

In support of the early date of this play, I beg first to draw attention to the Epilogue, in which the Author speaks for himself in the character of Prospero.

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
 And what strength I have 's mine ow;
 Which is most faint: now, 'tis true,
 I must be here confined by you,
 Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
 Since I have my dukedom got,
 And pardoned the deceiver, dwell
 In this bare island by your spell:
 But release me from my bonds,
 With the help of your good hands.
 Gentle breath of yours my sails
 Must fill, or else my project fails,
 Which was to please. Now I want
 Spirits t'enforce, art to enchant;
 And my ending is despair,
 Unless I be relieved by prayer;
 Which pierces so that it assaults
 Mercy itself, and frees all faults.
 As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
 Let your indulgence set me free!

This does not sound to me like an address to an audience by a dramatic author who had produced play after play through a long series of years with unexampled success, and who, at the time when he is supposed to have written these supplicatory and deprecatory lines, had retired to the town in which he was born to enjoy the independence which had grown out of that success, and who was also placed by it in a position to forbear, if he chose, to submit himself to public censure at all: they are rather lines which we should expect from a new candidate for dramatic fame,—one who was anxious about his success, and distrustful and diffident of his powers. If the word modesty be whispered, I reply, that when the public have accorded a large mede of praise modesty expresses itself by silence, not by language, which, opposed as this was to the public voice, would offend by the appearance of affect-

tation which it could not but wear. Assume that *The Tempest*, the first in place in the collection of his works, was also the first, or nearly the first, of the plays in which he depended on himself, and neither impeded the feebler efforts of other men, nor suffered himself to be shackled by the bondage of rhyme, and this Epilogue becomes natural, consistent, and proper.

The examination of the kind of subjects on which Shakespeare employed himself at different periods of his dramatic life leads to the same conclusion. It was in the earlier period of his life, which, for the sake of convenience, we will call the period before the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, that he produced nearly all the plays which belong to the class to which *The Tempest* belongs, the romantic comedies. *All's Well that Ends Well* and *The Winter's Tale* are the only plays of this class that can by any means admit of being referred to the later period; and it is remarkable that these two plays are extremely deficient of indications, either internal or from without, of the time at which they were produced. The other romantic comedies are all decidedly of the earlier period; while, on the other hand, it is equally certain that in the later period of his life he was, for the most part, employed upon themes of a very different character. It was then that he took for his heroes the veritable and eminent personages of authentic history,—*Cæsar*, *Anthony*, and *Coriolanus*, or royal personages in history less authentic, *Cymbeline*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*. Then, too, he produced his *Timon* and *Troilus*, both full of high moral and political wisdom, the most philosophic of all his plays. If, then, we suppose *The Tempest* to have been produced in the later period of his life, we must suppose that for once he deserts those lofty themes, closes Plutarch, and returns to his books of Italian fable and romance. He may undoubtedly have done so; but, when

we have a comedy of uncertain date before us the antecedent probability is that it belongs to the early period of his life; just as if a new tragedy were found that we knew to be Shakespeare's, having for its principal character one of the heroes of Greek or Roman story, we should, previously to any inquiry, refer it to the period when he produced his *Julius Cæsar*, or his *Troilus*. Nothing is more evident than that Shakespeare produced his dramas in clusters. His English histories were evidently for the most part produced in quick succession, and are neutral productions in respect of this argument: so also is *Hamlet*.

But in questions of this kind we require particular and special evidence, rather than that which arises out of comprehensive views of the author's manner, and to that I now proceed.

In all questions on the chronological order there is no testimony of greater importance than the following passage contained in *A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greek, Latin, and Italian Poets*:

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. For comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love Labours Lost*, his *Love Labours Won*, his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy, his *Richard the Second*, *Richard the Third*, *Henry the Fourth*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*. p. 282.

The treatise in which this passage occurs is found in a work entitled *Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*, of which a divine, Francis Meres, a Lincolnshire man, was the author, who describes himself as Master of Arts of both Universities, and who has done more ample justice to our English poets, and to Shakespeare in particular, than might have been expected from a professed scholar, writing for the use of persons engaged in classical studies. This work is a

collection of similes gathered for the benefit of young scholars, tasked to the production of school or college themes.* But the material point in reference to the present inquiry is the year in which this work appeared, and the date 1598 is found upon the title-page.

Here, then, we have distinct evidence from a contemporary that in 1598 there were twelve plays attributed to Shakespeare, six comedies and six tragedies: the question is, whether *The Tempest* is one of them.

Eleven of the twelve have descended to our time with the titles by which Meres calls them. There remains a twelfth which we have not received under the title by which it was known to Meres—*Love Labours Won*: the next question is, whether this play is not *The Tempest*.

If evidence could be produced that *Love Labours Won* was

* This book, which is one of great importance in all inquiries that relate either to the order of time in which the plays were composed, or to the position in which Shakespeare stood in the thirty-third or thirty-fourth year of his age among the men of genius of the time, is one of a series, in the preparation of which Meres, Bodenham, and Allot were the persons concerned. First appeared *Politeuphuia, Wit's Commonwealth*. This consisted of *Admonitions and Sentences*. Next came Meres' book of *Similes*; then a book of *Examples*, having for its title *Wit's Theatre of the Little World*; and lastly, *Passages from the English Poets*, apt for the use of Themes, of which there were two, appearing at nearly the same time, entitled *England's Parnassus*, and *Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses*. *England's Helicon*, published in the same year, 1600, is a different kind of book, being a collection of complete pastoral and lyrical pieces.

Dr. Farmer, Warton, and, following them, Sir Egerton Brydges and others, have intimated that this Allot is the person of that name who was the publisher of the Second Folio, in 1632; but this could not be. Both were named Robert; but Robert Allot the stationer was a mere child in 1600, if then born. It was more probably an uncle of his, Robert Allot, who was Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, and Linacre Professor of Physic. The stationer was one of the younger sons of an Edward Allot, of Criglestone, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and had a brother Edward Allot, who was a Bachelor of Medicine of the University of Cambridge, and "practitioner of chirurgery," who died June 6, 1636, aged 33, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Nottingham, with some English verses over his grave.

a lost play there would be an end to the inquiry ; but if it only established a probability, more or less cogent, I should still think that anything short of positive evidence would be countervailed by the strong probabilities that *The Tempest* is really this play, with another and, it may be added, a better title ; but when there is no evidence, and no high probability, of a play so called being lost, and the probability arising from the circumstance that the other plays named by Meres have all descended to our time having an opposite bearing, we may assume that the play called *Love Labours Won* is one of the thirty-six which were collected by Heminge and Condell in the volume published by them.*

Now, of these many are excluded by being expressly named by Meres,—many by other obvious considerations ; and, in fact, it never having occurred to any one to think of *The Tempest*, the opinion respecting its date having long run so strongly for a time subsequent to Meres' book, this play had never been suggested, when my *Disquisition* was published, as possessing the slightest claim to be regarded as the *Love Labours Won* of Meres. This is one of the points in which I must humbly confess I stand opposed to every one else. Indeed, the body of critics, commentators, and editors had

* A critic on my *Disquisition on The Tempest* proposes, it must be admitted with great modesty, a theory which would render unnecessary all inquiry about the play of Shakespeare really intended by Meres, since, according to him, the titles *Love Labours Lost* and *Love Labours Won* were not intended to designate two plays, but were jointly the title of one and the same play. " But is it quite certain there ever was such a play ? May not *Love's Labour Won* be the second part of the title of *Love's Labour Lost* ? The passage in Meres where the names immediately follow each other would seem to countenance such a conjecture, and the story of the comedy would most fully bear it out. In it *Love's Labours*—comic labours—are both *lost* and *won* : *lost* because they led to a year of penance, and *won*, because at the end of the year they were to receive their reward." See *The Quarterly Review*, vol. lxx. p. 482. The words of Meres are before the reader.

agreed that Meres spoke of a quite different play: according to them he meant the *All's Well that Ends Well*.

The original promulgator of this opinion was Dr. Farmer, in his Essay on the Learning; for Tyrwhitt, who first drew attention to this passage, made no attempt to ascertain the play of which Meres was speaking. All, however, which Dr. Farmer says is this:—"The story of All's Well that Ends Well, or, as I suppose it to have been sometimes called, Love's Labour Won," &c. without a word of fact or argument to support his surmise. And yet, independent of any reasoning by which Malone was led to refer the *All's Well* to the year 1606, the play itself contains evidence of the most indisputable kind that it bore the title it now bears from the beginning. How otherwise can we account for the fact that there are towards the close of the play not fewer than four distinct allusions to the proverb which forms the title?

We must away,
Our waggon is prepared, and time revives us:
All's well that ends well; still the fine's the crown,
Whate'er the course, the end is the renown.—Act iv. Sc. 4.

Again,

All's well that ends well, yet,
Though time seems so adverse, and means unfit.—Act v. Sc. 1.

And again,

All yet seems well: and if it end so meet
The bitter past more welcome is the sweet.—Act v. Sc. 3.

And, as if this were not sufficient, we have in the Epilogue:

The king's a beggar now the play is done,
All is well ended, if this snit he won.

In the *All's Well* there is also but little correspondency to the sentiment of the words, *Love Labours Won*.

Burnt up those logs, that you are enjoined to pile !
 Pray, set it down and rest you ; when this burns
 'Twill weep for having wearied you : my father
 Is hard at study ; pray now, rest yourself ;
 He's safe for these three hours.

FERDINAND.— O most dear mistress,
 The sun will set, before I shall discharge
 What I must strive to do.

MIRANDA.— If you'll sit down,
 I'll bear your logs the while : Pray, give me that ;
 I'll carry it to the pile.

FERDINAND.— No, precious creature :
 I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
 Than you should such dishonour undergo,
 While I sit lazy by.

MIRANDA.— It would become me
 As well as it does you : and I should do it
 With much more ease ; for my good will is to it,
 And yours it is against. You look wearily.

FERDINAND.—No, noble mistress, 'tis fresh morning with me,
 When you are by, at night.—Act iii. Sc. 1.

Here are *love-labours* indeed ! I venture to assert more peculiarly and distinctly so than can be found in the whole range of dramatic literature. And now to shew that the way in which they were performed proved the sincerity of his affection for Miranda, and so *won* the lady,

So perfect and so peerless,

of her father, who thought that too light winning would make the prize too light, let us listen to the words of Prospero at the opening of the fourth act.

If I have too austere-ly punished you,
 Your compensation makes amends ; for I
 Have given you here a third of mine own life,*
 Or that for which I live : whom once again
 I tender to thy hand : all thy vexations
 Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
 Hast strangely stood the test : here afore heaven

* For the word "third" of the old copies, the editors substituted "thread ;" which does not mend the sense. Mr. Collier restores "third."

I ratify this my rich gift.
 As my gift, and thine own acquisition
 Worthily purchased, take my daughter."—Act iv. Sc. 1.

There is thus, I contend, an eminent suitability in a principal incident of *The Tempest* to the title in Meres's catalogue of Shakespeare's Plays, such as cannot be shewn in respect of any other of the plays, and such as appears to me quite conclusive that this, and no other play, is the *Love Labours Won*.*

A strong corroboration of this opinion arises out of the circumstance next to be mentioned. Between plays with two such responsive titles as *Love Labours Lost* and *Love Labours Won*, some kind of correspondence would be expected. Now some such correspondence there is between the story of *The Tempest* and the story of *Love Labours Lost*. The correspondence I speak of lies in this: that in the story of both plays we have a certain basis of veritable fact and real personages of history; so that we are able to fix an historical period near to which time the events of these plays must be supposed to have taken place. To be sure the events and the characters are strangely disguised, corrupted, and blended in both, but still the historic basis is discernible, and this circumstance is peculiar to these two comedies, of all the plays not professedly historical. They are also the only two romantic comedies for which some

* Mr. Collier speaks of this conclusion thus:—"In the same way Mr. Hunter has argued that 'The Tempest' was not omitted by Meres in his list in 1598, but that it is found there under its second title, of 'Love's Labour Won;' but this is little better than a gratuitous assumption." Again, misapprehending his author, he says, that "from first to last the love of Ferdinand and Miranda is prosperous." To what purpose, then, were the labours imposed by Prospero? Mr. Collier also declares his opinion that the *Love Labours Won* is the *All's Well that Ends Well*, and asserts, without any manner of proof, that the play was revived, with some other changes, under the new name in 1605 or 1606.—*Works*, vol. i. p. 5.

origin cannot be traced in the romance writers previous to the time of Shakespeare.

It would seem then that we have the testimony of the author of the *Palladis Tamia* to the existence of *The Tempest*, as a play of Shakespeare's, in 1597 or 1598.

I advance another step, and submit reasons for thinking that *The Tempest* was acted with great success in 1596, nearly seven years before the death of Queen Elizabeth.

These reasons grow out of a consideration of the Prologue which Jonson wrote for his first play, the *Every Man in his Humour*. There is evidence in Henslowe's manuscript that this play existed in the November of that year.*

“ Though need make many poets, and some such
As art and nature have not bettered much,
Yet ours for want hath not so loved the stage,
As he dare serve the ill customs of the age,
Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
As, for it, he himself must justly hate :
To make a child now swaddled to proceed
Man, and then shoot up, in one heard and weed,
Past threescore years ; or, with three rusty swords,
And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,
Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,
And in the tying house bring wounds to scars.
He rather prays you will be pleased to see
One such to-day, as other plays should be ;
Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,
Nor creaking throne comes down, the boys to please :
Nor nimble squib is seen to make afraid
The gentlewomen : nor rolled bullet heard,
To say, it thunders : nor tempestuous drum
Rumbles, to tell you when the storm doth come.
But deeds and language, such as men do use,
And persons such as Comedy would choose
When she would shew an image of the times
And sport with human follies, not with crimes.
Except we make them such, by loving still

* *Works of Ben Jonson*, Gifford's edition, 8vo. 1816, vol. i. p. xxv. of The Memoirs. I have no other authority for this fact.

Our popular errors, when we know they're ill.
 I mean such errors as you'll all confess,
 By laughing at them, they deserve no less :
 Which, when you heartily do, there's hope left then,
 You, that have so graced monsters, may like men."

It will be admitted that in this Prologue we have a direct attack on the representations at the Black-Friars and the Globe theatres : and it will hardly be seriously denied that the attack is more particularly levelled against the plays which Shakespeare was at that period preparing for the entertainments at those theatres. Neglect of the unities, the introduction of beings not *in rerum naturâ*, instead of men in their various postures and humours, the attempt at representations for which the narrow limits of a theatre rendered it wholly unfit, the use of machinery sometimes a little out of order, and, in general terms, the substitution, for the Terentian Comedy, of dramatic representations not sanctioned by the practice of the Greek or Roman theatre, but partaking of the character of the early dramatic representations of the northern nations ;—these are the objects of Jonson's satire in this prologue. He spoke, no doubt, according to his own conviction of what the stage in every country ought to be, and what he desired to make it, while at the same time he was bespeaking the favour of the audience for his own play, and promoting the interest of the particular theatre with which he was himself connected. The relations in which Jonson and Shakespeare stood to each other have been the subject of much inquiry. The truth seems to be that they were professional rivals, holding different opinions respecting dramatic proprieties, but private friends. Mr. Gifford contends that the strokes in this Prologue were not intended for Shakespeare in particular ; but in this he has found few followers, it being so obvious

that not only does Shakespeare stand exposed to the general censure of the prologue, but that, of the six special points of attack, he was exposed to nearly all. (1) Infancy and maturity in the same character; (2) The Wars of York and Lancaster, with their duels and battles; (3) The shifting the scene from one country to another; (4) The descent of a creaking throne; (5) Thunder and lightning; (6) Monsters. If the writer of the Prologue did not *mean* to strike at Shakespeare, he must have been aware that every body would suppose him to do so, when by, we may say, every one of his blows Shakespeare is hit. There is scarcely room for a rational hesitation; and as little is there for doubting that *The Tempest* is the play of Shakespeare's against which several of the special strokes were levelled. Who but Caliban can be intended in the line

You that have so graced monsters, may like men?

To what, in the dramatic representations of the time, can the line

Nor creaking throne comes down, the boys to please,

be referred with more probability than to the descent of Juno in the Masque? The goddess came from above, according to the old stage direction, omitted in some later editions,—"Juno descends," her car or throne drawn by peacocks. Thunder and lightning might be imitated in the theatres before the time of Shakespeare, but the occurrence of the censure upon it, in union with the gibes at the "monster" and the "creaking throne," leads the mind at once to the thunder of *The Tempest*.

It seems, then, that we are warranted in assuming that *The Tempest* was an acted play before the time when Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* appeared; that is, before the month of November 1596; and since attacks of the

kind, which are to be found in this Prologue, are seldom made against pieces which are not at the time performed and popular, it seems to be a fair inference that *The Tempest* was represented in the summer of that year, and was running a successful course.*

We seem, then, now to have arrived by means of such evidence as that by which questions of this kind, when as in this case there is nothing direct and positive, must alone be decided, and where there is also nothing positive or highly probable on the other side, at these conclusions: (1) generally, that *The Tempest* was an early play; (2) that it is named by a writer in 1598; (3) that it is pointed at in a Prologue spoken in 1596. It is next proposed to shew that there was a public event in that identical year, which excited very much the public curiosity, distinctly alluded to in the play, and to which allusion would scarcely be made in any play which was written many years afterwards. This event is the return of Sir Walter Raleigh from his expedition to Guiana, and the publication by him, in the spring of 1596, of a most extraordinary pamphlet, containing an account of the wonders which he had seen, and the still greater wonders which he had heard of, in that expedition.

The very title of this pamphlet is enough to tempt the satire of a dramatist,—“The Discoverie of the large, rich, and

* Mr. Collier dismisses this argument for the early date of *The Tempest* thus summarily:—“Mr. Hunter also endeavours to establish that Ben Jonson alluded to ‘The Tempest,’ in 1596, in the Prologue to ‘Every Man in his Humour;’ but while we admit the acuteness, we cannot by any means allow the conclusiveness, of Mr. Hunter’s reasoning.”—*Works*, vol. i. p. 5. It is difficult to deal with passages such as this, in which we have indeed an *opinion*, but no *grounds of the opinion*. Mr. Collier must be understood to assert that, in his opinion, the sneers of this Prologue, at the introduction of thunder and lightning, at the descent of a throne by means of machinery, and at the appearance of a monster on the stage, are not directed against *The Tempest*, where we find these three special objects of Jonson’s satire all occurring. I think Mr. Collier wrong.

beutiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city of Manoa, (which the Spaniards call El Dorado,) and the provinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their rivers, adjoyning. Performed in the year 1595, by Sir W. Raleigh, Knight, &c." But the pamphlet abounds in what are called "Travellers' Wonders," exaggerated, and sometimes impossible representations of what Raleigh and his companions had heard of or seen, while the general effect was to stimulate, in a dangerous manner, the cupidity of his countrymen, by presenting to them the prospect of unappreciable wealth, courting the hand of any one who would proceed to those regions, and lay hold on it.

The publication of such a pamphlet could not but excite great attention at the time, and the adventures of the discoverers must, we are sure, have formed half the conversation of the people of London for some time after their return. Whether we regard Shakespeare as intent only on the benefit of the theatre, by laying hold on a popular subject, or aiming at the higher object of putting his countrymen on their guard against a dangerous delusion, he made this pamphlet the object of his satire, introducing beside general girds at the wonders told by travellers, and the absurdities of schemes of new settlements, a special attack on what, after all, is really the weakest point in Raleigh's pamphlet :

Or that there were such men,
Whose heads stood in their breasts! which now we find
Each putter out on five for one,* will bring us
Good warrant of.—Act. iii. Sc. 3.

* This is the old text, except that "on" is substituted for "of." Mr. Malone gives it "of one for five." The expression is meant to be contemptuous. The subject of this kind of insurance has been well illustrated by the commentators. Persons going on distant voyages would sometimes deposit sums

The passages in Raleigh, here alluded to, are the following :—" To the west of Caroli are divers nations of canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads ;" who, in utter contempt of nature and anatomy, are more particularly described thus :

" Next unto Arui there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a mere fable, yet, for mine own part, I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arroimaia and Canuri affirm the same : they are called Ewaipanoma : they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts." p. 70.

There can be no doubt then that, whenever written, Shakespeare did intend, in this play, to cast ridicule upon this pamphlet of Raleigh, and it will easily be admitted that the time when such ridicule would *tell* was when the pamphlet was new, and the curiosity it raised the strongest ; and further, that such ridicule would be unseasonable and pointless many years afterwards, when Guiana and the pamphlet had almost passed out of the public recollection. While the delusion lasted it was wise, just, and patriotic in the popular poet of the time to interpose, and to remind his countrymen that " travellers' stories " might be abroad, and that some of these relations deserved to be thrown into the

of money with persons at home, to receive three, four, or five times the amount on their return, varying with the distance and danger of the expedition. A copy of a deed of insurance of this kind may be found in the Common Place Book of John Sanderson, a Turkey merchant, of those times, which is among the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum. Henry Moryson, a brother of Fynes Moryson, deposited 400*l.* with a person in London, to receive 1,200*l.* if he returned from a voyage, in which he was to visit Constantinople and Jerusalem.

class of the least probable of them all; but such an interposition would be nugatory and foolish when the golden visions had vanished, and men had not only recovered from the delusion, but had almost forgotten that such a delusion had ever existed. And if we take the lower view, and look upon the poet as thinking of nothing but what would be attractive to the frequenters of the theatre, allusions to so popular a topic would be attractive only while the topic was familiar, and, when fifteen years had rolled away, would fall heavy on the public ear, if they did not offend from the mere circumstance that they were out of season. An allusion, at the theatre, to the voyage of Captain Parry in the Arctic Seas, and to his pink snow,* would be generally understood, would interest and please, at the time of that enterprising commander's return from his hazardous voyage, but would now, after the lapse of twenty years, be unprofitable if not unintelligible to half the persons who form the audiences at a theatre.

It is quite true, indeed, that there are two other allusions to Raleigh's pamphlet in two later plays, the *Othello* and *The Merry Wives*; but these plays, though later than *The Tempest*, were yet not so much later that we may not suppose that still the expedition of Raleigh was a popular topic, nor are the allusions conceived in the same spirit of ridicule in which the passage quoted from *The Tempest* seems to have been written.

To the summer, then, of 1596, and not with Mr. Malone to 1611, or with Mr. Chalmers to 1613, I assign this play.

* Let me not be suspected of classing the coloured snow of this enlightened and cautious voyager with the incredible relations in Raleigh's pamphlet. The existence of tinted snow was remarked long ago by that man of inflexible knowledge, Cardan, as Dr. Muffett informs us, (*Health's Improvement*, 4to. 1655, p. 128); "as Cardan reporteth blue snows to be common near the Straits of Magellane."

But before I proceed a single step further I must remove what is to many a great stumbling-block in the way, and which, more than anything else, prevails with fair and candid inquirers in preventing them from assenting to the conclusion here brought out. I mean the quotation, for it is very nearly so, from Florio's translation of Montaigne, which is made to bear upon the question of the date of *The Tempest* thus;—Florio's translation of Montaigne was not published before the year 1603; therefore the play which contains what is nearly a quotation from it must have been written after that year. A copy of Florio's work was certainly in Shakespeare's possession.*

The passages from *The Tempest* and from Florio's Montaigne follow.

" I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit,—no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil,
No occupation,—all men idle—all;
And women, too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty.
All things in common Nature should produce,
Without sweat or endeavour; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but Nature should bring forth
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people."—Act ii. Sc. 1.

And thus Florio:—

" It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kind of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate nor of politic

* And now in the British Museum. It has the name of Shakespeare written in it, by his own hand. The sum of one hundred and twenty pounds was paid for this volume solely on account of the autograph.

superiority ; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty ; no contracts, no successions, no dividences, no occupation, but idle ; no respect of kindred, but common ; no apparel, but natural ; no manuring of lands ; no use of wine, corn, or metal. The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulation, covetousness, envy, detraction, and pardon are never heard of amongst them."—Book I. ch. 30, "Of the Caniballs," p. 102.

The discovery of this imitation was made by Capell long ago.

Now, were there not other and more certain means of removing this objection, I should rather say that it is of the two more probable that this passage was a subsequent addition, or substitution for something else, made after the play had been substantially completed, than that so many unconnected lines of argument all leading to the same conclusion should all mislead, and that we should find Shakespeare addressing an audience with affected modesty in his Epilogue, or so many years after laughing at a delusion which had been long forgotten. But it may be asked of those who rely upon the date of the folio Montaigne, whether, if they saw a quotation from one of Shakespeare's sonnets in any book, they would come to the conclusion that that book must have been written after the date of the volume which contains the first printed impression of those sonnets ; because, if they did, they would assuredly run a great risk of being in error, since we have the direct testimony of Meres in 1598 that the sonnets, or at least some of them, were at that time well known among Shakespeare's friends, though they were not printed till eleven years afterwards : "his sugred sonnets among his private friends." Or, if they found a passage quoted from the *Essays* of Sir William Cornwallis, who was a pupil of Florio's, and concluded at once that the writing in which it appeared was of a later date than the first impression of those *Essays*, would they not be in great danger of error, when the Editor expressly tells us that his reason for printing

them was that copies were already in so many hands that it was feared a surreptitious edition might be printed by some one who obtained possession of one of those copies. There are other ways by which people become acquainted with an author's writings beside perusing them in printed books, and it would seem as if, in Shakespeare's time, there was more of the private communication of literary works than is the case at present. Poetry, at least, of that age abounds, which was first written for a private and special purpose, and lay long in manuscript open to many eyes, and thus liable to be quoted before it was committed to the printer. Dryden, in later times, is said to have verses in his translation of Virgil which really belong to the Earl of Lauderdale, though the Earl of Lauderdale's translation was not printed till some time after the death of Dryden; and no doubt, taking the whole field of our literature, many other similar instances might be collected. But we are not left to infer that the whole, or any portion, of Florio's Montaigne might be communicated abroad before the folio of 1603 appeared from any probabilities that it might be so, or from the bare possibility that such might be the case; for we have direct evidence from a contemporary that he had seen this translation some years before it was printed,—an event very probable in itself when we consider that Florio's profession was that of a teacher of the modern languages. The testimony comes from Sir William Cornwallis, and is contained in the following passage of one of his Essays:—

P. 99. "For profitable recreation that noble French knight, the Lord de Montaigne, is most excellent; whom, though I have not been so much beholding to the French as to see in his original, yet divers of his pieces I have seen translated, they that understand both languages say very well done; and I am able to say (if you will take the word of ignorance) translated into a style admitting as few idle words as our language will endure. It is well fitted in this new garment, and Montaigne speaks now good English. It is done by a fellow less beholding to nature for his fortune than wit, yet lesser for his face

than his fortune. The truth is, he looks more like a good fellow than a wise man; and yet he is wise beyond either his fortune or education."

We have here, then, direct evidence that this translation, in whole or in part, was known to a writer whose work was printed in 1600, but was written some time before; because, as already it has been shown, it had before that date fallen into many hands, and been transcribed and re-transcribed. And with this concurs another circumstance concerning this folio,—that, though it is quite true that it has the date 1603 in the title-page, the publication of it was contemplated several years before, the licence for the printing having been granted to Blount as early as 1599.*

Now, if Florio had made his translation so long before 1603, and had allowed it to be seen by Cornwallis, is it too much to ask the reader to concede that Shakespeare might have seen it likewise, especially as Florio was living at the time in the pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton,† which must have brought Shakespeare into some degree of intimacy with him? Is it too much even to suppose that whatever knowledge Shakespeare possessed of French and Italian he obtained from Florio, the best and most popular teacher of the modern languages of his time?

I conceive, therefore, that the date of the printed *Montaigne* cannot be regarded as forming a great, much less an

* *Herbert's Ames*, No. 1383.—We have a kind of proof that Florio was accustomed to use translations in the instruction he gave his pupils in the purchase by him of a French *Plutarch* and of an English *Plutarch*, in 1607, for the use of the Queen and her daughter, the Princess Elizabeth.

† This fact in Florio's history, which has hitherto remained unnoticed, is distinctly stated by himself in the dedication of his *Italian and English Dictionary*, fol. 1598, where, addressing the Earl of Southampton, he says, "In truth I acknowledge an entire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all, yea of more than I know or can, to your bounteous Lordship, most noble, most virtuous, and most honourable Earl of Southampton, in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years, and to whom I owe and vow the years I have to live."

insurmountable, obstacle to the reception of the early date of this play.

I am told by a modern critic that I stand alone in thus contending for the early date; but the question with all wise and honourable men will be, not how many, or who, support or oppose, but whether the evidence demands the verdict. In the present case, the argument has had the full benefit of adverse criticism: but I may be excused if I do not abandon my position of the identity of *The Tempest* and *Love Labours Won*, at the call of a critic who reads so plain a passage, as if the writer meant to speak of *Love Labours Lost* and *Love Labours Won* as forming together the title of but one play; or desert the early date because, as Mr. Collier argues, having been performed at court in 1611, it could not have existed in 1598. This argument, to be good for anything, requires the intervention of the position that none but plays which were *new* were performed at court, which cannot be for a moment maintained. Mr. Cunningham has something to the same purpose, in which I can understand better the civility with which he means to treat me than the purport of his observation: "Hallowmas Night, 1611 (on which night he shews from the Accounts of the Master of the Revels that *The Tempest* was performed at court), was the 1st of November, 1611; and, as it was the custom of the age not to produce a play at court 'for his majesties royal disport and recreation' before it had been stamped with public approbation on a public stage, 'The Tempest' was in all likelihood first produced at the Globe in the summer of 1611. If this is correct, what becomes of Mr. Hunter's position that 'The Tempest' of 1611 was the 'Love's Labour Won,' mentioned as Shakespeare's by Meres in 1598."* I can no more yield to this kind of reasoning

* See *Reasons for a new Edition of Shakespeare's Works*, by J. Payne Col-

than I can to declarations of opinion without any reason at all.

We must return to the writer in *The Quarterly Review*. This writer contends for the later date, 1613, and on these grounds: "We are informed by Mr. Vertue's manuscripts that this comedy was acted by Heming [Heminge] and the rest of the king's company before Prince Charles, the lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector, in the beginning of the year 1613. The Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth were married in February 1613; and is it not highly probable that this poem, which relates to the loves of a young prince and princess, and introduces a pageant of spirits to crown them with

" Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance and increasing,"

was expressly composed as a part of the splendid festivities of their royal nuptials?" Now *The Tempest* was certainly performed at court on November 1, 1611, fifteen months or more before the Prince Palatine's marriage.

From these recent attempts to controvert an argument cautiously and strongly built, and firmer than that by which the date of any other of the plays has been established,

lier, Esq. 8vo. 1842, pp. 44 and 49, and *Extracts from the accounts of the Revels at Court*, pp. 226 and 211. Mr. Collier indeed himself has distinctly shewn, p. 48, that some of the earlier plays of Shakespeare were performed at court in November 1604 or 1605, which is fatal to the argument that *The Tempest* having been played before the King on All Hallows Night, 1611, it could not have been written so early as 1598. Thus, *The Merry Wives* was performed at court in November 1604, while there is a printed copy of it of the year 1602 (*Collier, Works*, vol. i. p. 174). *The Comedy of Errors* was performed at court at the close of 1604, but it existed in 1598, as appears by Meres's list (*Ib.* vol. ii. p. 111). *Much Ado* was printed in 1603, yet performed at court in 1612 or 1613 (*Ib.* vol. ii. p. 184). *The Merchant of Venice* is in Meres's list in 1598, was printed in 1600, and yet performed at court in 1605 (*Ib.* vol. ii. p. 473). *Othello* was performed at court in 1636 (*Ib.* vol. vii. p. 630). There is, in fact, no show of probability in the argument raised on the court performances.

where we have not the benefit of that robust evidence which dates in title-pages and diaries supply, I turn to the consideration of the great argument by which the two most distinguished critics in this department, Mr. Malone and Mr. Chalmers, were led to assign this play to a late period of the author's life, and to place it in their chronological tables, Mr. Malone in 1611 and Mr. Chalmers in 1613.

Their argument may be briefly but sufficiently stated thus:—

The following passage occurs near the beginning of the play :

“ In the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vest Bermoothes.”—Act i. Sc. 2 ;

from which it is evident that the mind of the poet was once at least, when engaged on this work, directed on Bermuda and the stormy character of the seas around it. Bermuda was not only infamous for storms, like the island of Prospero, but was also, like it, supposed to lie under the influence of enchantment, being expressly called by the sailors in their profane way an isle of devils. A remarkable storm occurred in the Bermudean seas in the year 1609, in which a vessel called the *Sea-Adventure* was lost, having two distinguished Englishmen on board, Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, who escaped, however, to the island, as the persons on board the vessel in *The Tempest* escaped to the island of that play. This event, according to the two critics, gave occasion to this play, in which the poet was greatly indebted to an account of the loss of the English vessel, written by an author of the name of Sil. Jourdan, whose work was published in 1610.*

* It is a small pamphlet in 4to, of which the title is as follows : *A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Devils : by Sir Thomas Gates,*

The facts are all admitted, but the inference of connection between them and the composition of this play is denied; and this, on account of the absence of any minute and singular circumstances common to the storm described by Jourdan and the storm in *The Tempest*, or common to the island of Bermuda and the island on which Shakespeare has placed the personages of his drama.

It will be admitted that a poet has storms at his command, and that he may at any time wreck a vessel if he choose to do so, without being stimulated by the occurrence of any particular storm, and without borrowing incidents from any actual storm. It will be admitted that he may invent such incidents and circumstances as are essential to convey a strong and vivid conception of such a scene to the minds of his readers. He may save or he may drown his hero as the exigencies of his story require, without in this necessarily alluding to any particular case of actual drowning or of safety in danger. It will also be admitted that in every sea-storm, whether one of poetic invention or one of real life, there will be many circumstances in common; in short, that there is a strong family-likeness among storms at sea, and that there is perhaps no one storm of which we possess any minute and graphic description which does not contain some feature, and probably several, to be found in other descriptions, equally minute and graphic, of the same kind of event. Such degree of resemblance affords, therefore, no proof whatever that a later writer had been studying in a former; or, to apply more particularly to the present instance, can

Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with divers others." We may remark the word 'discovery' in a sense now obsolete, but not uncommon in those times. The pamphlet may be found in Hackluyt, modern quarto edition, vol. v. p. 555—558, for it occupies only four pages. There is a larger and better account of the island and of the storm in which the Sea-Adventure was lost, by William Strachey, in Purchas, *Pilgrims*, part iv. p. 1734—1741.

any inference be drawn from such resemblance that a certain writing in which a storm at sea is described is of a subsequent date to another writing in which the same subject is treated of. What we require to justify such a conclusion is this: that certain circumstances unusual in a storm, or so minute and inconsiderable as to be unlikely to attract the attention of two independent writers, shall be found in both; or that nearly all the circumstances which are touched upon are common to both, and grouped in a similar manner; or, lastly, that there is some verbal conformity, some unusual word or phrase, common to both, or, what is in effect the same, some words or phrases used by both in some peculiar manner.

This canon appears so just and reasonable that it requires only to be laid down to be accepted: and yet has this canon been violated by both the critics; who, having laboured the argument with great assiduity, and done all for it that could be done by the use of italic letters and capital letters, have yet failed to shew that there is any resemblance between the storm as described by Shakespeare and the storm as described by Jourdan, beyond that general resemblance which will always be found in descriptions of such events. As well might it be argued that it was the storm in Virgil, and far better might it be argued that it was the storm in Ariosto, which was in the mind of Shakespeare when he delineated the storm with which *The Tempest* opens, as that he had in his mind the storm in the Bermudean Seas, and Jourdan's pamphlet open before him.

That he obtained from this pamphlet his acquaintance with the stormy character of the seas around Bermuda, which gave birth to the classical and elegant epithet of "still-vex'd," which he applies to the island, is also a perfectly groundless presumption. Bermuda had not been long known when Shakespeare wrote this play, but it was suffi-

ciently well-known before the earliest date which can possibly be assigned to it, with all its accompaniments of storms and horrors: and in particular they are brought prominently forward in that very pamphlet of Sir Walter Raleigh's to which, as we have seen, Shakespeare makes such direct allusion. "The rest of the Indies," says he, "for calms and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms." This was early in 1596; and this passage I take to be the germ and only origin of the "still-vexed Bermoothes," the only passage in the play in which there is an allusion to Bermuda at all. But there were earlier notices of the stormy character of the Bermudean seas, which might easily have been known to Shakespeare. We have an account of the shipwreck in those seas of one Henry May, who arrived in England in August 1594, in a vessel which he had built at Bermuda. The narrative is in Hackluyt, as is also an account of a voyage by Sir Robert Dudley, the enterprising and ingenious son of the Earl of Leicester, who returned in May 1595, having directed his course to the Bermudas, hoping there to find the Havannah fleet dispersed. "The fleet," he says, "I found not, but foul weather enough to scatter many fleets." Indeed, the dangerous navigation of those seas furnished quite a common-place topic to the English poets and moralists of those times, so familiar was it.*

* We find it in Chapman, Drayton, Tymme, Donne, John Taylor, Middleton, and also in Lord Brook, in the lviii sonnet of *Calica* (*Works*, fol. 1633). These poems of Lord Brook are said, in the title page of his works, to have been "written in his youth, and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney." This expression is, no doubt, to be taken with some latitude, but if interpreted literally it would shew that the dangerous navigation on the "Bermuda coast" was well known in England some years before the earliest date in the text, for Sir Philip Sidney died in the year 1586. The two friends, Sidney and Greville, entered the grammar-school of Shrewsbury on the same day, October 17, 1564, as appears by the register of the school. Sir James Harrington, a cousin of Sir Philip, was admitted on the same day.

We proceed, then, to the supposed resemblance between the island of Bermuda and the island which is the scene of the incidents in *The Tempest*.

Here it is necessary to interpose a remark in justification of the old critics. It is not maintained by them, as some persons have misunderstood, that Shakespeare intended to represent the Bermudas as being actually the island on which the incidents in this play occur.* Such a supposition would have been quite monstrous; the island of Prospero being obviously an island of the Mediterranean, and not far out of the track of a vessel sailing from Tunis to Naples; and of all islands whatever the Bermudas are expressly excluded by the very terms of the only passage in which the name occurs. What they really contend for is this: that Bermuda, an uninhabited and enchanted island, was in the mind of Shakespeare, and suggestive to his imagination, when he delineated the uninhabited and enchanted island of *The Tempest*; that certain circumstances, physical and metaphysical, in the one led to the introduction of similar circumstances in the other, the information possessed by Shakespeare being derived from the pamphlet of Jourdan of 1610.

But in this also I submit that they are mistaken.

We must recur to our canon. It will be admitted that a poet may frame in his own mind an image of a rocky and uninhabited island, situated in a stormy sea: to make the solitude more striking, he may place upon it one or two human beings, whom some dire necessity has driven to its

* To speak the full truth, Mr. Chalmers does, however, lay himself open to the suspicion that he regarded the Bermudas as the actual scene of the play; for he speaks of Stephano as King of Bermuda; (*Supplementary Apology*, p. 441;) and (*Apology*, p. 581.) says, that the poet "shewed great judgment in causing by enchantment the king's ship to be wrecked on 'the still-vev'd' Bermoothes."

inhospitable coast. He may invest one such being with preternatural powers, and assign to him such a command over the agencies of nature that he may raise or allay the storms which vex the coast at his pleasure. There is nothing unusual in all this: and there may be even a great deal more in which a poet has drawn on nothing but the resources of his own imagination. And should it happen that an earlier poet had described a similar scene, or should it happen that a particular island is invested, in popular belief, with similar attributes, it would be wrong to infer connection or suggestion, unless there were some single circumstances of a peculiar and striking character common to both, some grouping of circumstances, each in itself perhaps not peculiar, of an unusual kind, or lastly, some verbal coincidences, such as could not be explained on the principle that similar thoughts will find similar words to express them.

Now it is quite true that Bermuda was a solitary island in the stormy main,—that it was a desert island, and a peculiar seat of the evil spirits of popular belief. “It is called,” says Tymme, in his *Silver Watch Bell*, a very popular book, of which the tenth edition was published in 1614, “the Isle of Devils, for to such as approach near the same there do not only appear fearful sights of devils and evil spirits, but also mighty tempests, and most terrible and continual thunder and lightning; and the noise of horrible cries, with screeching, do so affright and amaze those that come near the place that they are glad with all might and main to fly and speed thence with all possible haste they can.”

This passage conveys a more vivid idea of what the Bermudas appeared to English imaginations than any of those quoted by the former commentators, and assimilates it more nearly, though still most remotely, to the island on which

Prospero is placed. But neither here, nor in any passage in which Bermuda is mentioned, do we meet with any resemblances which can be considered critical between the attributes of this island, natural or supernatural, and the attributes given by Shakespeare to the island in *The Tempest*. And if from such a passage as this we turn to Jourdan's work we shall find even less of similarity, if less can be. I do not quote, because, after all, there is nothing to be quoted; for it will hardly be seriously maintained, as one critic has suggested, that the urchins which galled the feet of Caliban were suggested to the poet by the native hogs of Bermuda.

Bermuda has its peculiar attributes eminently susceptible of poetical adaptation, as will be willingly allowed by those who recollect Waller's *Battle of the Summer Islands*, Marvel's delightful *Song of the Puritan Exiles*, or Moore's more recent *Epistle from the Bermudas*. It is strange indeed, if Shakespeare were really working on what Bermuda supplied him, that he should have missed of all these. We have nothing even of the amber or the melons of Bermuda. Filberds and pignuts are the fruits we hear of; the line, the pine, and the oak are the trees; muscles and crabs, the jay and the marmoset, and the scamel* (whatever that may be), are the other living creatures; and the island has its fresh springs and brine pits, barren plains and fertile; so that there is no want

* This word is found nowhere else. "Chamnia," "sea-mews," "stannels," are Theobald's suggestions, to which may be added "samphire" and "squirrel." Sea-mew may seem the most probable, "scamel," "seamel," "sea-mew," as "Melrose" is in popular speech "Mewrus." But an editor would hardly be justified in making any change, but should leave the word, as he finds it, to the chances of future discovery. We are not at the end of our philological illustration of a poet who committed himself to a language so fickle as ours; yet I cannot fall in with Theobald, who says "it is no matter which of the three readings we embrace, so we take a word signifying the name of something in nature." Shakespeare had always a meaning, and the more perfectly we understand it the more shall we find reason to admire.

of particularity, and it is strange if, in the midst of all, the poet has evaded everything peculiar to Bermuda, if Bermuda were in his thoughts.

It remains, however, to be observed, that not only is there the absence of any points of identification in the natural features of the two islands, but that the enchantments of the two are of entirely different schools. The enchantment of the Bermudas is a vulgar Scandinavian superstition, easily transferred by mariners to any island where the navigation was difficult, and appears not to go a step further than this—that the island was possessed by the Great Spirit of Evil and his satellites. The enchantment of *The Tempest*, on the other hand, originated in oriental imaginations, and was wrought up into a complicated, curious, and artificial system, wanting nothing but a basis of fact and experiment. It is a peculiarity of this play, little observed, that nowhere in English literature can we find a more clear and distinct, and probably a more correct, exhibition of this peculiar philosophy than is here presented to us.

There is so little to be said for the Bermudean origin of this play that it is wonderful it should still have its supporters. Mr. Collier clings to it,* and the writer in the Review before referred to who has advanced so singular an hypothesis respecting the *Love Labours Won*, after affirming very truly that Shakespeare "might have invented such incidents as a storm and a shipwreck without having them put into his head by the account of the hurricane in which Sir George Somers' vessel was lost," goes on

* I wish to maintain respect for Mr. Collier's critical judgment in such matters, but I certainly read such a declaration as the following with a feeling approaching to surprise: "The mention of 'the still-vex'd Bermoothes' by Shakespeare seems directly to connect the drama with Jonrdan's 'Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Devils,' printed in 1610." (*Works*, vol. i. p. 6.) Now we know for certain that Shakespeare had Raleigh's pamphlet, printed in 1596, in his hand when he wrote this play, and that there is a passage in it quite sufficient to suggest all he says about Bermuda.

to say, "We still consider it very probable that he really had read Stithe's History of Virginia before *The Tempest* was written, and had not quite forgotten its contents when employed on the composition of the play."

One who has attended to this subject may reasonably feel ashamed of noticing such a remark, occurring in a communication to that Review, distinguished for its pretension and arrogance. By "Stithe" must be meant "Stith" (for amongst other faults the inaccuracy of the quoted matter is not the least extraordinary), who indeed wrote a History of Virginia; but then Stith was a writer, not of Shakespeare's age, but of the last century, the eighteenth,—a person who was a Governor of William and Mary College, and incumbent of a parish in Virginia, whose work was first printed in 1747. This is, of course, an oversight,—mere hasty writing, and negligent revision in the Editor; but these worthy critics might have spared Mr. Malone, who is represented by them as declaring of Shakespeare that "he derived some of the circumstances from Stithe's account of the shipwreck of Somers."

SCENE.—The Bermudean theory of the origin of this play never had any adequate support;* but its complete destruc-

* The reader who wishes to see the way in which the subject has been treated may consult Malone's "Essay on the Chronological Order" (*Boswell's Malone*, vol. ii. p. 464); his Dissertation, written expressly in support of this theory (*Id.* vol. xv. pp. 377-434); Chalmers's *Apology for the Believers*, 8vo. 1797, p. 577; and *Supplementary Apology*, 8vo. 1799, p. 438. Mr. Chalmers also printed a Dissertation expressly on this subject; but it was never published. Theobald, it may be observed, had given the hint of the Bermudean theory by the remark that *The Tempest* could not have been written before the discovery of the Bermudas; but when he adds that they were discovered in 1609, alluding to the shipwreck of Somers in that year, he shews a want of acquaintance with the progress of maritime discovery. This is a remark of Farmer's (*Boswell's Malone*, vol. xv. p. 3), which I mention because I do not observe it in the notes on this play by Theobald in the edition of 1757.

tion may be said to have been accomplished by the discovery, which, I am told, was first made by the late Mr. Francis Douce, that there is an island in the Mediterranean, lying not far out of a ship's course passing from Tunis to Naples, which, in its natural features, and in the opinions and traditions respecting it, so nearly resembles the island on which the King of Naples was wrecked that there is scarcely room for doubt that it was in the mind of Shakespeare when he drew the scenes of this play. This island is one of a group in the Mediterranean lying midway between Malta and the African coast ; its name is Lampedusa.

Hitherto our attention has been chiefly directed to the consideration of the evidence touching the period of time at which *The Tempest* was written. And what has been said about the suggestion of the scene or of any of the incidents has been only in reference to the point of time ; and particularly what has been said of the Bermudas has been chiefly intended to shew how unnecessary it is to believe concerning this play that it was written at a time subsequent to the shipwreck of Sir George Somers in 1609. What was said of the inaptness of the Bermudas, either in physical or metaphysical respects, to have suggested the idea of the Enchanted Island of *The Tempest*, or any of its circumstances, was rather incidental and subsidiary. We now, however, make the *scene* a main object of our inquiry, leaving the question of date as being disposed of ; and it is now proposed to shew that there are certain circumstances of this island of Lampedusa which mark it as having been the particular island on which Shakespeare placed Prospero and Miranda and to which he conducted Alonzo and Ferdinand, so that it would be by no means improper in any future editor of Shakespeare were he to place at the foot of the *dramatis*

personæ the words—SCENE, LAMPEDUSA—just as Verona is put down as the scene of the chief incidents in *Romeo and Juliet*.

This position will perhaps be thought as bold as that which removes *The Tempest* in the table of the chronological order from 1613 or 1611 to 1596. The question is whether there is that kind of probability which alone the circumstances of the case admit.

We may attend, then, first to the geographical position of Lampedusa.* In that there is every thing to meet the exigencies of every part of the story. Sailors from Algiers land Sycorax on its shores. Prospero committed to the sea off an Italian port, and tossed about in his frail vessel † at the

* The authorities chiefly consulted for Lampedusa are *Turco-Græcia, libri octo*, by Crusins, fol. Basil, 1584, p. 528; *Deſſ' Historia di Sicilia*, by Faz-zellus, fol. 1628, p. 7; *Nouvelle Relation du Voyage et Description exacte de l'Isle de Malthe*, &c. Paris, 12mo, 1679, pp. 34—39; *Voyage round the Medi-terranean*, by the Earl of Sandwich, 4to, 1799, p. 488; *Memoir descriptive of the resources of Sicily and its Islands*, by Captain Smyth, 4to, 1824, pp. 285—288. This last work contains the fullest and best information. Lampedusa is in Hoffman and other dictionaries, and there are slight notices of it in the annotators on the Canto of Ariosto, in which it occurs. In *The Naval Chronicle* for 1803 there is a report of a Russian officer who was employed by Prince Poniatowsky to ascertain how far this island might afford a convenient station for ships.

† A *Butt* according to the text of the old copies, printed with a capital letter, and not *boat* which the modern editors have substituted. I think *boat* would not have been mistaken by a compositor for *butt*, or that such an error (if error) could by possibility have escaped the eye of the corrector of the press, or if it passed in the first folio would have remained uncorrected in the second. At the same time the expression "the very rats instinctively had quit it" suits better with a boat than with a butt. It is also evident that no butt that we can conceive of would have received and floated such a freight; but then we are on a tale of enchantment, not one of actual fact, and it is perhaps as difficult to conceive of a boat receiving such a freight and "without tackle, sail, or mast" conveying those who are committed to it from the Italian coast to near the coast of Africa. I have no doubt that when the story is found on which Shakespeare wrought in this play, we shall find there a justification of this hard reading.

mercy of the waves, is found at last with his lovely charge at Lampedusa. Alonzo, sailing from Tunis and steering his course to Naples, is laid hold upon by a storm raised by Prospero, and brought to land on Lampedusa.

In its dimensions Lampedusa is just what we may imagine Prospero's island to have been, in circuit thirteen miles and a half.

Lampedusa is situated in a stormy sea. In the few notices which we find of it in writers contemporary with Shakespeare the name generally comes accompanied with the notice of a storm. In 1555 Andrew Doria anchored the fleet of Charles the Fifth on the island after an engagement with the Turks; but a furious gale came on, when several of the ships were driven upon the rocks and lost. Crusius quotes from the narrative of a voyager who, in 1580, spent four days on the island, during the whole of which time there was one continued tempest.

Lampedusa is in seas where the beautiful phenomenon, the Quерро Santo, or Fires of St. Helmo, is often seen. The commentators have told us that these fires are the flames of Ariel.

Lampedusa is a deserted island or nearly so, and was so in the time of Shakespeare. Captain Smyth, the latest English voyager who has written concerning it, informs us that, "except a solitary anchoret or two, and a few occasional stragglers, it does not authentically appear to have been regularly inhabited in modern times." He found, however, one Englishman, Mr. Fernandez, living there. The Earl of Sandwich, who visited the island in 1737, found only one person living upon it; and, going backward to the time of Shakespeare, earlier voyagers and geographers give the same account.

Lampedusa is known among the mariners in the Mediter-

ranean familiarly as the Enchanted Island. The reason for its being deserted is thus given by Captain Smyth: "It was never inhabited on account, it is gravely said, of the horrible spectres that haunted it;" and, quoting from Coronelli, he says, "Even writers worthy of confidence assert that no one can reside on this island on account of the phantasms, spectres, and horrible visions that appear in the night, repose and quiet being banished by the formidable apparitions and frightful dreams that fatally affect with death-like terrors whoever does remain there so much as one night." Crusius in 1584 has these few words relating to the supernatural appearances;—"Noctes ibi spectris tumultuosæ."

We thus obtain an island in many respects invested with the attributes which belong to the island of Prospero, and in the proper geographical position. But so far we have met with no coincident circumstances which are of a peculiar and remarkable character, such as we should not expect to find at once in an actual island and in the island of a work of poetic invention, unless the writer of the fiction had some acquaintance with the island actually existing. But, pursuing our inquiries further, we find that "the Turks are governed by a ridiculous superstitious idea that no one would be able to go out of the island who did not leave something there, or who had the hardihood to take away the merest trifle!" Compare with this one mode of the operations of Prospero.

PROSPERO.

Say, my spirit,

How fares the King and his followers?

ARIEL.

Confin'd together

In the same fashion as you gave in charge,

Just as you left them, sir; all prisoners

In the live-grove which weather-fends your cell;

They cannot budge 'till you release

PROSPERO.—Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,

Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury

Do I take part; the rarer action is

In virtue than in vengeance ; they being penitent,
 The sole drift of my purpose doth extend.
 Not a frown further : go, release them, Ariel —Act v. Sc. 1.

The island of Prospero is bound in by a rocky coast. This is the case with Lampedusa. What can be inferred from this? I cheerfully answer, nothing. But then in the rocky bounds of Lampedusa there are hollows, troglodytic caves, as Captain Smyth expressly calls them, and he found some of them actually inhabited. This is not common to every rock-bound island, and yet this same peculiarity we find in the island of Prospero. Caliban, like one of Mr. Fernandez' Maltese, inhabits one of these caverns :

For I am all the subjects that you have,
 Which first was mine own king ; *and here you stay me*
In this hard rock, whilst you do keep from me
 The rest of the island.—Act i. Sc. 2.

We have another allusion to these caves in the conversation between the clowns concerning the wine :

TRINCULO.—Oh, Stephano, hast any more of this ?
 STEPHANO.—The whole butt, man ; my cellar is in a rock by the sea-side
 where my wine is hid.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

Prospero, however, does not live the life of a troglodyte. He has his cell, "a full poor cell," as compared with his Milanese palace, but capacious enough to receive himself and Miranda, and those books which he prized above his dukedom. It was the only place in the island which was fit for the habitation of human beings. Now just one such building was there at Lampedusa. Captain Smyth says that "it stood at a little distance from Cala Croce, up a ravine in some degree picturesque." The cell of Prospero is made by Shakespeare, perhaps accidentally, picturesque, by shading it with line-trees.

This cell had a solitary inhabitant, a faint prototype of Prospero, the person whose memory is perpetuated in the common proverb of the Sicilians, who call a man of any faith an hermit of Lampedusa, explaining it thus :—the hermit had a chapel adjoining his cell which he lighted up for the crescent or the cross, according to the nation of any vessel which he saw approaching his shores.

In the Sicilian legends there is a story which bears a slight resemblance to the story of this play. In early times a vessel was wrecked on Lampedusa, and the only persons who escaped were two Palermitan ladies, Rosina and Clelia. They found on the island two hermits, Sinibald and Guido, who, renouncing their ascetic life, married them.*

Another point of resemblance between Lampedusa and the island of *The Tempest* is too remarkable to be passed over, and too peculiar to have existed at all were there no connection between the actual island and the island of this play. Malta is supplied with fire-wood from Lampedusa : and it will be recollected that the labour which Prospero imposed upon Ferdinand was to place logs of wood in a pile ; to which it may be added that the chief employment of Caliban, the "servant-monster," was the collecting of fire-wood, of which he is for ever talking. This does not look like a mere poetic invention ; at least the coincidence, if there was no connection, is very extraordinary. And here we may remark, as illustrating that realization of every scene, and that consistency which runs through all the works of Shakespeare, that they were logs of pine which Ferdinand was employed in piling. This does not appear directly in anything which is said, but may be inferred from what Miranda says :

* On this tradition is founded a poem of Wieland's, "Klelia and Sinibald, oder die Bevol-ferung von Lampeduse."

When this burns

"Twill weep for having wearied you.

Nor is it distinctly affirmed in terms that pine trees were of the natural growth of the island, but we collect it from the fact that it was in a cloven pine that Ariel was imprisoned.

Reverting, then, to the point which it was proposed to establish, namely, that Lampedusa was the island on which Shakespeare intended that we should understand the scenes of his drama to have taken place, it may be asked if it can be regarded probable that the poet formed in his mind from his own stores (as undoubtedly he was abundantly capable of doing if he chose to do so) the full image of his Enchanted Island with all its attributes, without any reference to an actual island, when there is an island possessing so many of those attributes in the very place which the exigencies of the story require?*

ORIGIN.—It will probably here be asked how Shakespeare could become acquainted with Lampedusa, an obscure island, rarely mentioned anywhere, and of which it is probable that no account could be gained from any book of geography or travels easily within his reach; and this leads us to

* There is some want of consistency in Mr. Collier. Having told us that the mention of "the still-vex'd Bermoothes" seems directly to connect this drama with Jourdan's Discovery of the Bermudas, he immediately afterwards tells us that he cannot admit that Lampedusa was the island, because "we cannot persuade ourselves that Shakespeare had any particular island in his mind." Then not Bermuda. Mr. Collier should make his election; either contend that the island of *The Tempest* had no actual prototype, which excludes Bermuda, or that it had a prototype in Bermuda, in which case the pretension of any other island may be put forward. There is the same self-contradictory writing in the article in *The Quarterly Review*, to which reference has before been made. "It is" and "It is not," just as suits the purpose. I agree, however, with Mr. Collier that we might have expected to have seen the name of the island in the play; but I think nothing of what he says about the *Turco-Græcia*.

another point—the origin of this play and of the principal characters and incidents in it. The answer I conceive to be this : that Shakespeare did not obtain his acquaintance with Lampedusa from Crusius or any other learned writer, and then devise a story adapted to the natural features of the place and to the opinions respecting it ; but that when he wrote *The Tempest* he proceeded as he did when he wrote most of his other romantic dramas ; that is, he took a story which had been previously written by another hand, and then in his own inimitable manner told the story again in the dramatic form ; and that it was in the story so prepared for him that he found Lampedusa and the several peculiarities which belonged to it, and that, like the other stories which form the basis of *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *As You Like It*, and others of his romantic dramas, it was a story not of home growth, but the work of foreign invention, the production of a French, Spanish, or Italian artist, but in this instance probably an Italian story, the work of some person to whom the attributes, physical and metaphysical, of the island of Lampedusa were familiarly known, as easily they might be. Thus it was, I conceive, that Shakespeare became acquainted with Lampedusa.

That Shakespeare worked on some such previously constructed story will be thought too bold an assumption only by those who do not advert to the fact that he is usually found working out in the dramatic form stories previously constructed, or, if not taking entire stories, using incidents as the basis of his plots which he found in previous writers. Origins, more or less complete, have been discovered for all his romantic plays, with the exception of the *Love Labours Lost* and *The Tempest*. The absence of the original stories of both these is a remarkable circumstance, since the stories of both are off-shoots as it were from a stock of genuine his-

tory, and, this being peculiar to these two plays, there is great reason to conclude that the stories on which Shakespeare wrought in both are in one and the same book, though the book has hitherto eluded the researches of the Shakespeare commentators, which book contained stories professedly connected with the facts and personages of genuine history. The passages in *The Tempest* in which it would appear that the poet was not working at his own free pleasure are not so striking as one which is found in the *Love Labours Lost*, in which we have a long detail of a money contract between France and Navarre and its consequences, which cannot but have been originally written in prose; but they are sufficient to mark it as a work in which poetical fancy was in some degree controlled. It seems, indeed, to me that there is one proof that *The Tempest* is a translated, not an original composition :—

She that is Queen of Tunis ; she that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life ; she that from Naples
Can have no note, unless the sun were post,
(The man i' the moon's too slow) till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

where *Man's Life*, of which the attempts at explanation by the commentators are singularly unsatisfactory, appears to be the name of some African city turned into English on the principle of translation which gives us “Old Free-Town” in *Romeo and Juliet*, and “The Place of Depth” in *The Comedy of Errors*; and in Mandeville “Evil Town,” and in the Acts “Mars-hill.” And we accordingly find Leo Africanus speaking of a city south of Tunis, known by the name of *Zoa*, which may well be supposed to have been the place the name of which is thus represented on this erroneous principle of translation.

Collins the poet, as is well known, is reported to have

said that he had seen the novel which is the original story of *The Tempest*, and that it was in a book printed in four languages, and entitled "Aurelio and Isabella." This, however, turns out to be a mistake. The *Aurelio and Isabella* I possess, and it has no resemblance whatever to the story of *The Tempest*. But it is thought by some not improbable that Collins really had seen the story, though he referred to it under a wrong title. It is a just remark of Mr. Boswell's that a person in the state of mind to which Collins was reduced "was much more likely to have confounded in his memory two books which he had met with nearly at the same time than to have fancied that he had read what existed only in his own imagination." The same commentator adds, that he had been told by a friend that he had some years ago actually perused an Italian novel which answered to Collins's description.*

Mr. Thoms has lately called attention to an old German play which he thinks is founded on the same story; and there is an English ballad printed by Mr. Collier, (on which the writer in the *Quarterly Review* has an unhappy conjecture that it may have been the true origin of *The Tempest*,) which has an appearance of having been founded on a story bearing a very near resemblance to the story of *The Tempest*, and so strengthening the probability that there was a printed English original.

We come now to the proof that the story of *The Tempest* has some relation to characters and events of real history. They are strangely blended, disguised, and obscured: but still through the mist we can discern the real persons who were in the mind of the author, and some of the real events which are the basis of his fable. The time of *The Tempest* is evidently the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. xv. p. 17.

sixteenth century, the crisis of the two old sovereignties of Naples and Milan. The time of *Love Labours Lost* may be more precisely fixed to about 1427.

Thus there was a real Alonzo, King of Naples, having a son named Ferdinand who, in 1495, succeeded him in his kingdom. When he was dispossessed by Charles the Eighth of France he retired to the island of Ischia. Ferdinand did not, as in the play, marry a princess of the house of Milan, but the two houses were at that time united by the marriage of Alonzo himself with Hippolita Sforza, a daughter of Francis Duke of Milan. Then, turning to the history of Milan, we have a banished duke in Maximilian, who was dispossessed in 1514 by Francis the First of France. We have also an usurping Duke of Milan, corresponding to Anthonio, in a brother of Maximilian. To the banished Duke of Milan the original author of this romance seems to have transferred qualities which belonged to Alonzo King of Naples, of whom it is said that he "renounced his estate unto his son (Ferdinand), took his treasure with him, and sailed into Sicily; where, for the term of his short life, that dured scarce one year, he disposed himself to study, solitariness, and religion."* But the Duke of Milan, called Francis, may seem to have had a taste for the studies in which Prospero was so great an adept, for I have a treatise on Witchcraft, printed at Milan in 1490, in which the reality of all that goes under the name of magic is affirmed, and the book is dedicated to the duke by its author, Jerome Visconti. The name of Prospero does not occur in either family, and was probably suggested by the name of the celebrated commander, Prospero Colonna, who had so much concern with the affairs of the Milanese during the troubles.

* *History of Italy*, by William Thomas, 4to. 1549.

It was, then, in this original story, whoever was the writer, and in whatever book it was found by Shakespeare, that I conceive the poet obtained his acquaintance with the Island of Lampedusa, and found characters, as well as incidents, which he has so beautifully wrought up in his drama. In England it is in vain now to hope to find such a volume. Would that persons fond of the popular literature of France, Navarre, and Italy, and placed where they have easy access to the rare remains of the literature of this class of the sixteenth century, would exert themselves to bring to light a volume interesting above all others to the admirers of Shakespeare. There are persons who would gladly resign all their interest in the criticism on this poet received from foreign countries for the sight of this volume. That such a book once existed there cannot be a reasonable doubt: that every copy of an English translation should have perished, is a possibility which the history of the popular literature of England will forbid any person from doubting. In its native language, however, such a book may still, I trust, be existing.

Shakespeare, having been carried to this island of Lampedusa, appears to have cast about for such information as he could gain respecting it, and was thus, perhaps, led to Ariosto, who has given a magnificent description of the shipwreck of Rogero in the seas about the very group of islands of which Lampedusa is one.

Shakespeare's obligations in this play to Ariosto have not been noticed by any former critic; but they appear to be indisputable. And this is the next point in these New Illustrations to which I would direct the attention of the reader. Ariosto found a translator in Sir John Harington; and, without meaning to open the question whether Shakespeare could have read the author in the original, there is

evidence that in this instance he read him in Harington, whose work was first published in 1591.

In, as I conceive, this search for Lampedusa Shakespeare fell on what is one of the most splendid efforts of Ariosto's muse. The passage is long, but as Harington's book is not a very common one, and the passage itself so beautiful, it may bear transcription. It is proposed to shew that it had been recently read by Shakespeare when he prepared the first scene of *The Tempest*.

A friendly gale at first their journey fitted,
And bore them from the shore full far away;
But afterward, within a little season,
The wind discovered his deceit and treason.

9.

First from the poop it changed to the side,
Then to the prow at last it turned round;
In one place long it never would abide,
Which doth the pilot's wit and skill confound.
The surging waves swell still in higher pride,
While Proteus' flock did more and more abound,
And seem to him as many deaths to threaten
As that ship's sides with divers waves are beaten.

10.

Now in their face the wind, straight in their back,
And forward this and backward that it blows;
Then on the side it makes the ship to crack:
Among the mariners confusion grows:
The master ruin doubts, and present wreck,
For none his will, nor none his meaning knows:
To whistle, beckon, cry, it nought avails,
Sometime to strike, sometime to turn their sails.

11.

But none there was could hear, nor see, nor mark,
Their ears so stopped, so dazzled were their eyes,
With weather so tempestuous and dark,
And black thick clouds that with the storm did rise,

From whence sometimes great ghastly flames did spark,
 And thunder-claps that seemed to rend the skies,
 Which made them in a manner deaf and blind,
 That no man understood the master's mind.

12.

Nor less, nor much less fearful, is the sound
 The cruel tempest in the tackle makes ;
 Yet each one for himself some business found,
 And to some special office him betakes :
 One this untied, another that hath bound ;
 He the main bowling now restrains, now slacks ;
 Some take an oar, some at the pump take pain,
 And pour the sea into the sea again.

13.

Behold, a horrible and hideous blast
 That Boreas from his frozen lips doth send,
 Doth backward force the sail against the mast,
 And make the waves unto the skies ascend.
 Then brake their oars, and rudder eke, at last,
 Now nothing left from tempest to defend ;
 So that the ship was swayed now quite aside,
 And to the waves laid ope her naked side.

14.

Then all aside the staggering ship did reel,
 For one side quite beneath the water lay,
 And on the t'other side the very keel
 Above the water clear discern you may.
 Then thought they all hope past, and down they kneel,
 And unto God to take their souls did pray :
 Worse danger grew than this when this was passed,
 By means the ship gan after leak so fast.

15.

The wind, the waves, to them no respite gave,
 But ready every hour to overthrow them :
 Oft they were hoist so high upon the wave,
 They thought the middle region was below them.
 Ofttimes so low the same their vessel drove,
 As though that Charon there his boat would shew them ;
 Scant had they time and power to fetch their breath,
 All things did threaten them so present death.

10.

Thus all that night they could have no release ;
But when the morning somewhat nearer drew,
And that by course the furious wind should cease
(A strange mishap), the wind then fiercer grew ;
And, while their troubles more and more increase,
Behold a rock stood plainly in their view,
And right upon the same the spiteful blast
Bare them perforce, which made them all aghast.

17.

Then did the master by all means essay.
To steer out roomer or to keep aloof,
Or, at the least, to strike sails if they may,
As in such danger was for their behoof.
But now the wind did bear so great a sway,
His enterprizes had but little proof ;
At last, with striving, yard and all was torn,
And part thereof into the sea was borne.

18.

Then each man saw all hope of safety past,
No means there was the vessel to direct ;
No help there was, but all away are cast,
Wherefore their common safety they neglect ;
But out they get the shiphoat, and in haste
Each man therein his life strives to protect :
Of king nor prince no man takes heed nor note,
But well was he could get him in the boat.

To those who will realize to themselves the scene which Shakespeare intended to call up by the few rough and broken sentences which compose the storm scene of *The Tempest*, it will be found to bear a very close resemblance to the scene which is presented before us in these stanzas of Ariosto ; so as to countenance the opinion that he aimed at exhibiting dramatically the same spectacle which Ariosto had presented in his epic. But it is not on this general resemblance that I rely, knowing how delusory such resemblance may be ; there are several minute and particular cir-

cumstances in which we find a correspondency, of a nature such that we should hardly expect to find them in two perfectly independent compositions. Thus we have not only the master of the vessel, but the master's whistle, in both. To introduce the whistle might, indeed, have occurred to both poets, when they were describing a storm in the same seas, but the probabilities are against it. We have the leaking of the ship in both; the striking of the sails in both; the falling to prayer in both; and, what is more remarkable, the contempt of rank and royalty in both. "What care I for the name of king: get out of my way, I say." So many particular coincidences, and some of them of an unusual character, looks like something more than accident. Then we have "the great ghastly flames," more like the fires of Ariel than common lightning. We have also a few verbal coincidences which well deserve attention. A word need not be in itself peculiar to serve as an index to a train of thought in a later author; a peculiarity in its use, or an application of it to the same or similar circumstances, may do as well.

If by your art, my dearest father, you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, *allay* them.—Act i. Sc. 2.

With this compare what is said of the Hermit who meets Rogero on reaching the shore:

And that he could, with one sign of the cross,
Allay the waves when they do highest toss:

where we have a three-fold correspondency, the word, the person, and the action.

Miranda proceeds,

O, I have suffer'd
With those that I saw suffer! A brave vessel,
Who had no doubt some noble creature in her,
Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
Against my very heart! Poor souls! They perish'd.

The words of Ariosto seem to have been ringing in the Poet's ears,

'Twas lamentable then to hear the *cries*.

In Ariosto,

The King of Affrick praised this offer kind
And called it a good and *blessed* storm,
That caused him such a friend as this to find
And thank'd him for his offer.

Shakespeare seems to have been struck with this somewhat remarkable use of the word "*blessed*," and we seem to owe to it both Miranda's

Or *blessed* was 't we did?

and Prospero's

But *blessedly* help hither.

It may be said that there is nothing very critical in the expression "*water with berries in it*,"—the beverage which Prospero gave to Caliban. The words do not, however, sound like a free creation of the poet's own mind, and it may seem that he remembered the line in Ariosto,

But eating berries, drinking water clear,

in which he describes the diet of the hermit who welcomed Rogero to the shore.

If we look to some of the incidents which occurred after the ship had gone to pieces in which the King of Naples and his son had embarked;—Rogero, the prince in Ariosto, betakes himself to the boat; the boat sinks, and he swims to the shore,—so Ferdinand saves himself from the wreck; and we have a description of his swimming to the shore corresponding to Ariosto's description of the swimming of Rogero.

21.

Some swam awhile, some to the bottom sank,
Some float upon the waves though being dead.
Rogero, for the matter, never shrank,
But still above the water keeps his head,

And not far off he sees that rocky bank
 From which in vain he and his fellows fled.
 He thither laboureth to get with swimming,
 In hope to get upon the same by climbing.

22.

With legs and arms he doth him so behave
 That still he kept upon the floods aloft.
 He blows out from his face the boist'rous wave
 That ready was to overwhelm him oft.

The following is the corresponding passage in Shakespeare :

I saw him beat the surges under him,
 And ride upon their backs. He trod the waters,
 Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
 The surge most swoln that met him. His bold head
 'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
 Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
 To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
 As stooping to relieve him.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

The passage is laboured, and betrays marks of effort, as if he was attempting to rival a great original. We have a similar correspondency in another of the laboured passages of *The Tempest*, in which he opens to view the guiltiness of the conscience of Alonzo :

Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it ;
 The winds did sing it to me ; and the thunder,
 That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounced
 The name of Prosper ; it did base my trespass.
 Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded ; and
 I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sound'd,
 And with him there lie madd'd.—Act iii. Sc. 3.

which appears written with the same kind of strained effort ; an effort produced, perhaps, by the attempt to rival and surpass the earlier poet.

But guilty conscience more doth him confound.
 He now remembers he had plighted troth
 To Bradamant, nor done as he had spoken ;
 How to Renaldo he had made an oath,
 And that the same by him was foully broken.
 Most earnestly he now repents them both,
 And calls to God for mercy.

The last point of resemblance which it may be necessary to mention is, that Rogero, when he reaches the island, meets with the hermit, just as Ferdinand meets with Prospero; and we find the hermit's cell an exact counterpart of the cell of Prospero, weather-fenced by its grove of line trees:

The cell a chapel had on the eastern side;
 Upon the western side a grove or berie,
 Forth of the which he did his food provide,
 Small cheer, God wot, wherewith to make folks merry.

That Shakespeare was accustomed thus to assist or to stimulate his own imagination by resorting to the works of earlier writers we need not go beyond the present play for proof. We have seen how, when he would describe a country in which there was no law, he takes a passage from Florio's Montaigne, and turns it into verse. In the beautiful address of Prospero to the spirits when he was dismissing them, commencing

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, or groves, &c.

it has been shewn by the commentators that he has copied from the incantation speech of Medea, as he found it in Golding's Ovid; and he evidently had fresh in his mind the prophetic speech of Celeno in Virgil when he wrote the long speech of Ariel at the disappearance of the banquet, which is so unlike the ordinary speech of that airy and sylph-like creation. In a manner less direct and obvious it would seem he used these cantos of Harington's translation of the Orlando, having been led to them in the first instance by the slight notice which they contain of the island of Lampedusa.

The cell at Lampedusa is common, we see, to the actual island, to Shakespeare, and to Ariosto; and beyond doubt it will be found in the original story of *The Tempest*, whenever that story shall be discovered. Shakespeare has given it individuality, so that the cell of Prospero, with its ad-

joining grove, is one of the most distinct and pleasing of the conceptions of natural scenery to be found in his works. It nestles under the wood, which keeps off every ruder blast, "weather-fending" it,—a happy old English compound, probably of the poet's own invention. The characters are security, seclusion, and repose,—save that the leaves of the sheltering grove are sometimes fluttered by the light pinions of Ariel. But the individuality is heightened by the poet having told us of what particular kind of tree this grove was formed. It is not a grove of oak, or elm, or pine,—it is a grove of line-trees, the linden, or the lime-tree; a tree of great beauty, and precisely the tree of which a grove to shelter such a cell ought to be composed. We may observe also that the poet has kept decorum in this. He had seen line-tree groves on a small scale in the suburban villas of his own country. "The female line," says his contemporary Gerarde, "or linden-tree, waxeth very great and thlick, spreading forth his branches wide, and far abroad, being a tree which yieldeth a most pleasant shadow, under and within whose boughs may be made brave summer-houses and banqueting arbours; because the more it is surcharged with weight of timber, or such like, the better it doth flourish." In a grove like this we may imagine alcoves and bowers of delight in unison with the character of the young and susceptible Miranda.

It was, moreover, a tree having fine flowers. We must attend to this, or we can never form a distinct conception of the scene which Shakespeare meant to display before us, or fully enter into the beauty of Ariel's song,

Where the bee sucks, there suck I,

meaning evidently this line-tree grove, for the flower of the line is an eminent favourite of the bee, who quits even the thyme borders that she may revel in "the blossom that

hangs on the bough,"—its pendulous flowers. Ariel, his service ended, desires no pleasanter abode than this line-tree grove.*

In Shakespeare's time this tree was called the line-tree, and not as now the lime-tree; but, in conformity with the change which has taken place is our ever-varying language,

* This beautiful song has been in several respects unfortunate; and yet, in spite of all its corruptions, it keeps its hold on the public mind, to which the music of Dr. Arne does in part contribute. But why should the word "lark" be substituted for "snek" in the first line, to the injury both of sense and melody whenever the song is printed with the music? Mr. Malone, whose principles of editorial duty did not make sufficient allowance for the freedom either of dramatic composition or of song-writing, has spoiled this song by his ill-judged punctuation. I shall give it entire, as it appears with all its graceful ease in the old copies:

Where the bee sucks, there suck I,
In a cowslip's bell I lie,
There I couch when owls do cry,
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.

Yet I can hardly bring myself to reject Theobald's amendment,—

After sunset merrily.

It can scarcely be necessary to observe that most of the little lyrical pieces interspersed through the plays under the notion of songs have, with very few exceptions, a substantive relation to the story, and help forward more or less the business of the piece. Thus another song of Ariel, so wild and beautiful,—

Full fathom five thy father lies, &c.

had the purpose of impressing on the mind of Ferdinand the certainty that his father had perished in the storm, in order that he might feel at liberty to bestow himself without a father's consent on Miranda. He alludes to this in the last act. The lyrical pieces, however, admit of being easily detached, and each considered as a separate whole; and it would be a service worthy the Percy Society to collect, as they once intended, the lyrical pieces dispersed through the plays of Lyly, Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shirley, and whoever else may have excelled in this species of composition. It is remarkable how extracts from the dialogue of dramatic composition fail in effect, though the passages in their place are of eminent beauty; but it would not be so with lyrical pieces.

the text of Shakespeare has been altered in this word, and we now read "the *lime*-grove that weather-fends your cell." This is one of the most striking instances that can be found of the mischief which may arise from disturbing the text of a great author, even where the change appears small in itself and reasonable, as this. I mean when the text does give us a clear and just meaning; for in the state in which the plays of Shakespeare have descended to us there are corrupted passages which it is one of the first duties of an editor to correct, and so to restore the author's own text. Here it is no more than the substitution of "lime" for "line," the latter word having in this application of it become superseded in the popular speech by the former; and so far no great mischief was done. But the effect is felt when we proceed to a later scene of the play, and find the clowns, when they are passing through this line-grove with the murderous intent upon the life of Prospero, stealing by the way the glittering apparel, and joking about the line, so little understood that the players actually draw a clothes-line across the stage, instead of hanging the glittering apparel on the branches of the line-tree, which was intended by Prospero when he gave the direction concerning them, "Come hang them on this line."

With the plot, from whatever source he derived it, Shakespeare has interwoven many of the details of a species of philosophy of very remote origin, and which prevailed to a very great extent in the middle ages. It had its origin in the East, and is thought to come from the very depths of human civilization. Solomon had the reputation of being a great adept; so long before his time were Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses. The three Magi were persons of the same class; so was Simon Magus, and so were the magicians who burned their books when the Apostles witnessed against such vanities. The traditions or imaginations of the middle

ages assigned to Virgil an eminent place among those who cultivated the art. There are then a crowd of persons of obscure name in the countries of modern Europe, and especially about the shores of the Mediterranean, who were professors of this so-called philosophy. There seems to have been less of it in England than in countries nearer to its birth-place, our superstitions partaking more of the character of the ruder nations of the North. The adepts in this philosophy were supposed to hold communication with the spiritual world, and they had their servant-spirits, whom they bound in stones or stocks, from which they knew how to evoke them when their services were needed. Fallen angels they were who had lost their first estate. By aid from these spirits they performed the most wonderful feats : they deluded the senses of sight, hearing, and taste, and seemed to satisfy, though with nothing, the cravings of hunger.* They knew men's thoughts ; they called the dead from their resting-places ; they made the very elements obey them ; they triumphed over space and time.

Of these adepts Prospero is a grand impersonation. We see his power over the elements, his intimacy with the thoughts and purposes of other men. He calls up splendid visions : at his command the air is filled with sweet music,

* There were persons as expert in tricks of *leger-de-main*, and in curious optical illusions, in former times as any in these days. Several proofs of this are collected in the disquisition on this play printed in 1839, to which others might be added. The deception which the Lords of Aspremont and Orne used to practise of inducing a belief that their guests were feasting at a most exquisite banquet, when the whole was merely ideal, seems to be the feat of the persons versed in the magical art for which it is most difficult to account. Shakespeare represents Prospero as practising this delusion ; but he shews at the same time his usual good sense in representing the banquet as only shewn to the King and his followers, not partaken of by them. Steevens' note in the *Variorum*, the only one on this subject, misleads, as he entirely mistakes the kind of illusion which Prospero, by his magic art, practised on the strangers.

or with the sounds of hound and horn ; he commands, and a splendid banquet is in a moment spread before the famished strangers ; he raises or quells the tempest, produces earthquakes, plucks up forest-trees, graves at his command let forth their sleepers ; he appears in the costume of the character with the robes, the wand, and, above all, the books.*

Ariel is peculiarly his spirit-minister, but he had others at his command. Ariel is only the one whose service he chiefly uses ;—"an airy spirit" says the old *personæ*, whence perhaps the choice of the name, which literally signifies the Lion of God, or the Strong Lion, and is used by the Prophet Isaiah as a personation of the city Jerusalem. Mr.

* It is a curious point in bibliography, what specifically the books of the Magicians were. It is strange that not one (as far as is known) has come down to our times if they were anything more than the harmless treatises on natural science of the middle ages, books of real science, with geometrical figures, or works in the Oriental languages, *read backwards*. When Hugh Draper of Bristol, an astronomer, was charged with practising as a sorcerer, he confessed that he had done so ; but that since he so disliked his science that he burned all his books (Bayley's *History of the Tower*, Appendix, p. 51.) Simon Peubrook, in 1578, being charged with being a conjuror, fell down dead in St. Saviour's church, when five books were found upon him (Beard's *Theatre*, &c. p. 126.) It is a rule laid down in the *Summa Angelica*, article *Sors*, that a necromancer is not to be considered purged, unless he has burned his books. Surely they must be something more than books of natural science used as we may imagine an imposter might use them. It is strange, however, that not one book which can be certainly fixed upon as one of this class should have escaped. I speak only of manuscripts in English libraries ; foreign libraries may contain such. Marlowe lets us into the nature of these books thus :

Here, take this book, and peruse it well ;
The iterating of these lines brings gold ;
The framing of this circle on the ground
Brings thunder, whirlwinds, storms, and lightning ;
Pronounce this thrice devoutly to thyself,
And men in harness shall appear to thee,
Ready to execute what thou command'st.

FAUSTUS.—Thanks, Mephistophiles, for this sweet book.

This will I keep as chary as my life.

Douce imagined he saw in the offices of Ariel, and particularly in the airy tongues, the voices which are heard when no one was visible, in the thunder and flames of fire, in the aerial banquet, in the artificial slumber, such a correspondence between the offices of Ariel and what is said of the other Ariel by the prophet, as shewed that Shakespeare read that portion of the prophet when he was composing this play.

Ariel is rather a spirit of air than earth: his lightness, form, dimensions, properties,—such as flying, swimming, passing through fire, sailing on the clouds—all bespeak this. Others were spirits of the earth, and their particular provinces and duties were corresponding: spirits of the hills, the brooks, the lakes, the groves, the meadows, the sea-shore. This appears from an attentive consideration of the address which Prospero delivers to them, when he tells them that he renounces for ever his unhallowed connection with them. Mr. Steevens, by a strange misapprehension, regards this celebrated address as an invocation, and he wonders why they are invoked. In fact they are not invoked at all; the words of Prospero were to penetrate to the secret haunt in which each of them was abiding, and to convey the intimation that Prospero ceased to be the magician, that he broke his staff and drowned his book, and meant to hold no further communion with them.

The *call*, which it was necessary for every magician to know, was something very different from this address. We have several specimens of it in this play. The words are such as Lesbia might have used to her sparrow, or an Eastern beauty to a bird of paradise.

Come away, servant, come: I am ready now:
Approach, my Ariel: come.—Act i. Sc. 2.

Again,

Now come, my Ariel; appear and perty.—Act iv. Sc. 1.

And again,

Come with a thought:—Ariel, come.—Act iv. Sc. 1.

The call is introduced on other occasions, and is always in harmony with the delicate form of Ariel, in which the idea of a bee perhaps rather predominates than that of any other living thing.

There is a good deal that is Hebraistic in this play, as might be expected when there was so much of the Chaldee philosophy. The measure of time "till new-born chins are rough and razorable" is quite Hebraistic. But the most remarkable circumstance under this head is that Caliban, who is generally represented as a creation purely and entirely of Shakespeare's own invention is, as to his very peculiar *form*, of Oriental origin. He is in fact as to *form* no other than the fish-idol of Ashdod, the Dagon of the Philistines, a word of which the principal element is the Hebrew word for fish.

Sea-monster i upward, man,

And downward, fish.—P. L. Book i. line 462.

This is Milton's idea of the form of Dagon, and this does not correspond with the form and attributes of Caliban. But it is a great question in Rabbinical literature in what manner the two elements of fish and man were combined in the figure of Dagon. Milton adopts Kimchi's idea, but Abarbinel contends that the true form of Dagon was a figure "shaped like a fish, only with feet and hands like a man;"* and this is pre-

* See for the form of Dagon, *Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic*, by Thomas Lewis, 8vo. 1724, vol. iii. p. 81. Milton, it may be observed, though in the *Paradise Lost* he has adopted the form of Dagon given to it by Kimchi, which, till the time of Abarbinel, had perhaps not been questioned, yet when he has to speak of Dagon again in the *Samson Agonistes* avoids assigning to the idol any particular figure:

cisely the form of Shakespeare's Caliban,—“a fish legged like a man, and his fins like arms.” Nothing can be more precise than the resemblance: the two are, in fact, one, as far as form is concerned. Caliban is thus a kind of tortoise, the paddles expanding in arms and hands, legs and feet; and, accordingly, before he appears upon the stage the audience are prepared for this strange appearance by the words of Prospero,—

Come forth! thou *tortoise*.

Steevens says that there is no conceivable figure with which all the functions and attributes of Caliban can be made to cohere. I do not agree with him. With the form that Shakespeare really gave him everything which he says or does is

To day a solemn feast the people hold
To Dagon, their sea-idol.

Those who wish to go deeper into the question respecting the figure and attributes of Dagon may consult Selden, *De Diis Syris*, Syntagma III. cap. 3. (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 356.) and also his Letter to Ben Jonson on the prohibition (*Dent*, xxii. 5.) of men wearing woman's apparel, written in 1615. In this letter he thus speaks of Dagon, “Berosus, out of relics of antiquity left from the oldest time in Babylon, reports that, when in the beginning of things the Babylonians or Assyrians were altogether ignorant of what instruction might furnish them with, there came amongst them out of the Red Sea a creature called Oannes, having a body of a fish, and two heads, one of a fish another human, and feet like a man growing out of the tail; that it had a voice like a man, that it taught the Assyrians all arts, all laws, and what else fit for civil society; and that to his time (he lived under Alexander) the statue of it was kept, with divers other most portentous pieces of relation touching Belus and Omorca, which, though they be all fabulous, yet do enough prove both the antick form supposed by the LXX in giving Dagon feet, and also their opinion of that marine deity, which in truth was nothing but Venus:

Scilicet in piscem sese Cytherea novavit,

says Manilius. Neither doubt I but that this Oannes, Dagon, and Artega were originally all one.”

The similarity of Caliban and Dagon is confined to *form*. I hold it to be certain, first, that the form was not an invention of the English poet; secondly, that he found it in the story on which he wrought in this play; and thirdly, that the original constructor of the story was versed in Chaldee antiquities, and thence drew this strange and unnatural and eminently undramatic compound.

consistent; yet it was a difficult figure to manage on the stage, and so the actors appear to have found it, for the fish character of Caliban is sunk, and when he now appears it is as a species of monkey.

Indeed, this difficulty must have been felt from the beginning, and Shakespeare could hardly have introduced a figure so unmanageable upon the stage as the compound of fish and man but under constraint, that is, the figure of Caliban was prescribed for him by the writer of the story on which he wrought, borrowed by him from the figure of Dagon of Ashdod. The moral attributes, the action, and the talk of Caliban, may, however, be well believed to be Shakespeare's own.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.—It now only remains that I offer a few observations on particular passages in this play.

And first I beg to call attention to a difficulty which presses against the old reading "rack" in a well-remembered passage, and which probably led to the substitution for it of "wreck" (which word is uniformly written by Shakespeare "wrack," an orthography which ought to be retained in all editions of his works,) in the editions prepared when attention was first called to the state of the text. "Rack" has undoubtedly the meaning of light, faint, fleeting clouds in the air, and as such might suit the passage; but then there is this difficulty, that, like the kindred word "welkin," it is never used but with the definite article, "the rack," "the welkin:" while in Shakespeare it is

Leave not a rack behind.

At least, this reading should be justified by the production of some other passage in which we found a poet or a prose writer speaking of a rack, since something may be said in favour of "wreck," or "wrack," as Shakespeare wrote, which Mr.

Malone prefers, though he retains the old text. Not only will the forms into which the materials were arranged disappear,—“the Cloud-capt Towers,” &c.—but their very *wracks*, wrecks, ruins, will vanish from human sight, as the pageant has utterly faded away.

And on this passage I would further observe that, if I have been successful in establishing the early date of this play, the question moved in the notes seems to be decided whether Shakespeare or Sir William Alexander were the imitator, if there is any imitation in either, for passages such as this are to be found in the poetry of all ages and nations. The *Darius* in which the resembling passage occurs was not published before 1603.

The word “wrack,” altered to wreck, occurs in another passage, where a delicate ear will perceive that something is lost in point of melody by this uncalled-for change :

The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compassion in thee,
I have with such provision in mine art, &c.—Act i. Sc. 2.

The word “provision” is the reading of the original copy, and I believe of all later editions ; but the following passage from the *Modern Policies*, a book attributed to Sancroft, of which the fifth edition was published in 1654, would seem to suggest and justify the change to “prevision :

We allow the dishurthening of a ship in imminent peril of *wreck*, but this will not excuse those who, upon a fond or feigned *prevision* of a state-tempest, shall immediately cast law and conscience overboard, discard and quit rudder and steerage, and thus *assist the danger* they pretend to fear.

It serves also to justify the phrase in the first scene, which requires justification, “You do *assist the storm*.” The second folio has a misprint, repeating “compassion” from the line above.

It may be here remarked, as a general observation on the text of Shakespeare, that the second folio contains many most

valuable readings, evidently corrections of the text of the first edition made by some judicious hand, and doubtless by some person who was not venturing upon conjectural emendations, but proceeding on the authority of the manuscripts belonging to the theatre, or of the traditions of the actors, of which the same scene affords a very remarkable instance. The first folio has the reading "*through* all the signories," and, adopting that reading, Malone gives the passage in this confused and scarcely intelligible manner :

As at that time,
Through all the signories it was the first,
 And Prospero the prime duke ; being so reputed
 In dignity, and, for the liberal arts
 Without a parallel ; these being all my study,
 The government I cast upon my brother,
 And to my state grew stranger.—Act i. Sc. 2.

But the second folio for "*through*" has the word "*though*:"

Though all the signories it was the first, &c.

Where "*though*" is to be read as if followed by "*of*," (such kind of elision being extremely common in the early editions of these plays)—and the whole passage may be adjusted thus :

As at that time,
 Though of all the seignories it was the first,
 And Prospero the prime duke ; (being so reputed
 In dignity :) and for the liberal arts
 Without a parallel. These being all my study, &c.

Shakespeare meant to point to the pre-eminence which was claimed for the Duchy of Milan above all the other duchies of Europe, Botero saying expressly, that "*Milan claims to be the first duchy in Europe*,"* and its Univer-

* *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths*, 4to. 1630, p. 337 : but there is an earlier edition.

sity of Pavia was, at the period to which the action of this play is to be referred, in high reputation. The sense now becomes complete and consecutive, though the expression is dramatic and colloquial :—" Though Milan was accounted the first of the great seignories, and Prospero, as the Duke of Milan, was regarded the prime duke in Europe, (having the general reputation and allowance of this precedence and dignity) ; and had also the higher reputation for the liberal arts ; he neglected the affairs of state, threw the government on his brother, and devoted himself entirely to those studies."

Perhaps it may be expected that the elision on which this criticism and the whole turn of the passage so much depend should be justified. Without going beyond the present play, we have the following passages, in which the words in crotchets require to be supplied to make the sense or metre complete :—

Had I [the] plantation of this isle.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

All but [the] mariners.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

I am more serious than my custom : you

Must be so too, if [ye] heed me.—Act ii. Sc. 1.

My dukedom since you have given [it] me again.

Act v. Sc. 1.

We were dead on sleep,

And (how we know not) all clapp'd under [the] hatches.

Act v. Sc. 1.

The minute corrections, such as these, which the received text requires, are innumerable ; but with these, except in a few of the more remarkable instances, it is not proposed to trouble the reader. They are rather changes to be silently made in a text that has undergone a thorough revision, to the successful execution of which highly necessary work two things are requisite—access to the original editions, and great critical discernment, first to distinguish among the

various readings of the old copies that which is most worthy to be adopted, and next to penetrate to the intention of the author where his words have come down to us manifestly corrupted by his transcribers and early editors. It is easy to say, go to the original copies; but, though this is undoubtedly a sound principle, and ought in editorial labour to be considered the first duty, yet no one can doubt that the original copies contain many very gross corruptions, (and this is true both of quartos and folios,) and also that in some passages there are happy restorations made by the editors of the middle period of Shakespeare criticism, as they have undoubtedly been eminently successful in other departments, leaving us who follow but gleaners after them.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

It is quite true, as the commentators have informed us, that the translation by Bartholomew Yonge of the earliest of the pastoral romances, the *Diana* of George of Montemayor, was not published in print before the year 1598; and that, therefore, Shakespeare cannot have been indebted to this printed volume for his knowledge of the story of Felismena in the Second Book, which is supposed to be the origin of the main portion of the plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. But, with the information of the time when this translation was committed to the press, they would have done well to place in the Prolegomena the further information respecting it that the translation was actually finished by Yonge sixteen years before, since this fact ought to be in view when we are inquiring into the possibility of Shakespeare's having become acquainted with this Spanish romance by means of Yonge's translation, if we must suppose that for his knowledge of Italian and Spanish writers he usually resorted to translations and not to the original works.

This information would at least have prevented Mr. Collier from being guilty of the oversight of saying that the *Diana* "was not translated into English by B. Yonge until 1598."^{*}

Yonge fixes very precisely the period when he was engaged in this translation:

About nineteen years past, courteous gentlemen, coming out of Spain into my native country, and having spent well-nigh three years in some serious studies and certain affairs with no means or occasion to exercise the Spanish tongue, by discontinuance whereof it had almost shaken hands with me, it was

* *Works of Shakespeare*, vol. i. p. 89.

my good hap to fall into the company and acquaintance of my especial good friend, Edward Banister of Idsworth, in the county of Southampton, esquire, who, perceiving my remissness in the said language, persuaded and encouraged me earnestly by some good translation to recall it to his former place; and to that intent he gave me the first and second part of Diana of Montemayor, in Spanish, which book, although I had been two years in Spain, till then I neither saw nor heard of; whose friendly care and desire to prevent so great a loss, and to preserve such an ornament in me, I confesse was the chief and principal cause, and therefore the only credit of this translation, whereby I recovered that tongue again, that lay, as it were, smothered in the cinders of oblivion. The second cause of this my labour was the delight I past in discurring most of those towns and places in it, with a pleasant recordation of my pen, which mine eyes so often with joy and sorrow had beheld. The third, the resolved then intent I had, never, howsoever now it hath escaped my hands, to put it in print, in proof whereof it hath lien by me finished Horace's ten, and six years more: for till then I never tried my unproper vein in making an English verse.*

This forms part of "The Preface to divers learned gentlemen, and others my loving friends," prefixed to the translation, which, though without date, may safely be referred to the same year which appears in the title-page, and which is also the date of the dedication to Lady Rich.

The judgment of Cervantes upon this romance is favourable: "I am of opinion we ought not to burn it, but only take out that part of it which treats of the magician Felicia and the enchanted water, as also all the longer poems, and let the work escape with its prose, and the honour of being the first in that kind."† It appears to have attained a popularity among the lovers of Spanish literature in England, for, beside this translation of the whole work by Bartholomew Yonge, portions of it were translated, as Yonge informs us, by Edward Paston, esquire, who had travelled in Spain; and among the manuscripts in the library of the Earl of Denbigh at the close of the seventeenth century was a translation of the first part made by Thomas Wilson, esquire, in 1596.‡

* Quoted from *The Restituta*, vol. i. p. 501. † *Don Quixote*, Book i. ch. 6.

‡ *Catal. MSS. Angl.*, No. 1484.

To Wilson's translation there is prefixed a dedication to Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, who was at the time on the Spanish voyage with the Earl of Essex.

Considering, then, how popular this romance was in the literary and poetical circles of the time, it is no weak and improbable conjecture that the work may have attracted the attention of Shakespeare before any translation of it actually appeared from the press; and, supposing that he could not or did not peruse the original work, we see that there was certainly one member of the *Chorus Vatum* of the time who had the means of making him well acquainted with it long before the earliest date which can possibly be assigned to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

It has been said that Shakespeare was no reader of manuscripts. This may be true or untrue, and is probable or improbable, according to the kind of writings which are to be understood by the word manuscripts. If old writings of the early historians are meant, or even contemporary manuscripts of such English authors as Chaucer and Lydgate, the probability is that Shakespeare spent not much time upon them: but, if modern translations of the works of foreign authors who had written in a language with which he was not very familiar be the manuscripts intended, there does not appear a much greater improbability in supposing that he was a reader of these when they fell in his way, and when by no other means could he become acquainted with the author in question, if he saw that they contained matter that could be used by him in the preparation of his dramas, than that he read such translations when they came before him in printed volumes.

We have no kind of evidence that Yonge was one of the poetical acquaintances of Shakespeare, but we have these two slight special probabilities, in addition to the general proba-

bility which arises out of the plain fact that men of kindred minds and studies easily fall into acquaintance with each other: that Yonge was occasionally an amateur performer as well as poet; for in the dedication to Lady Rich he speaks of having performed the part of a French orator in the shews at the Middle Temple, to which house he belonged; and secondly, Yonge was by so much the largest contributor to *England's Helicon*, printed in 1600, which contains a poem by Shakespeare, that he has been thought by some persons to have stood in the place of editor of that work. These circumstances, slight though they may be, may seem to create a certain probability that he and his translation of the *Diana* might be known to Shakespeare before he wrote this play.

Yonge is one of the many deserving English authors of the Elizabethan period of whom very little is known. His history begins* with his two years' travels in Spain, already mentioned, which are to be referred to 1577 and 1578. In 1586 he had finished and there was printed a translation of the Fourth Book of Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*, an Italian work, of which the three first books had been translated by George Pettie; and in the next year a translation of a novel, by Boccaccio, entitled *Amorous Fiammetta*. Then followed, in 1598, the publication of his *Diana*, which was printed at the expense of a person of whom we know no more than that the initial letters of his name were G. B. We find Yonge living at that time at High Ongar in Essex. Some

* There is a Bartholomew Yonge in one of Pynson's Pedigrees in Harl. M.S. 1754, to whom arms were granted in 1609, by Sir William Segar namely—Gules, a fess or, and in chief three lions rampant of the same—who may seem to be the same person, and the rather as this Bartholomew Yonge had a younger brother, named Thomas, who was a traveller in foreign parts. Bartholomew and Thomas were sons of a Gregory Yonge, of the county of York, by two different mothers, and they had sisters married to Holman, Evelyn, and Morris.

inquiries have been recently made at Ongar for any traces of his residence there, but none have been found. The next notice which I have recovered of him is from the will of his friend Edward Banister, which is dated March 27, 1600: "The first leaf of this my will is written by my loving friend Mr. Bartholomew Yonge, which he wrote for me in my sickness, and the last leaf is mine own hand, when I finished my will since my sickness." He gives Yonge four angels for a ring, and bequeaths to him and two other persons certain property, "to be bestowed for the benefit of his soul." This last clause seems to shew that both the testator and Yonge were of the old profession of religion.* In the same year appeared

* This Edward Banister has been wholly neglected by the inquirers into the lives of the distinguished men who flourished in the reign of Elizabeth; and yet he had other claims to be remembered besides that it is to him we may be said to owe the translation of the *Diana*. At a time when there was very little attention to the arts in England he brought to our shores statues and paintings, and other works of curious art, with which to adorn his house at Idsworth. "To my son, Edward Banister, all my books, all my instruments of music, all my painted tables, painted cloths and pictures; all my marble-stones of white marble, touch, porphyry, serpentine, and all manner of other stones, and carvings of wood, and things in glass, and all other my conceits of pleasure; to he had unto Idsworth, and there to be kept for my remembrance, and in no case to be sold, but to remain to my son, Edward Banister, when he cometh to his full age and to keep house, to use at his pleasure, and to garnish his house at Idsworth withall." This was before the Earl of Arundel's time, and yet I cannot find that there is the slightest notice of him in any work relating to the history of the arts in England. In his will he describes himself as "of Idsworth, and slace of Putney, and now of the Black Friars, London," His connection with Spain leads me to suppose that he is the same person with an Edward Banister who is mentioned in the will of Jane Duchess of Northumberland in 1553, the lady having herself much to do with Spain and with the Spaniards in the court of Philip and Mary. She speaks of him as belonging to her wardrobe, and says, that "he is qualified to serve any person in that capacity." A Bartholomew, perhaps Yonge, is also mentioned in that will.

It would be worthy the attention of the Hampshire antiquaries to inquire into the fate of the collection of curiosities deposited at Idsworth, there being so few of the kind at that time in England. There was a race of Banisters residing there, descended from this Edward, one of whom was living in 1663 at

the *England's Helicon*. Nothing appears to be known of him after this date, and the time of his death is doubtful. Wood supposes that a Bartholomew Yonge, who died at Ashurst in Kent in 1621, was the poet; but it is, perhaps, equally probable that the "Bartholomew Younge, gent.," who was buried out of Shire Lane at St. Dunstan's in the West, on September 25, 1612,* is the person.

The play itself presents few temptations to the commentators to interfere. There are no quartos to perplex with various original readings; no obscure allusions to events of the time to be elucidated; no strikingly uncertain passages to be regulated, or difficult expressions to be explained. The commentators have already done enough, and more than enough.

I offer only notes on three Shakesperian words.

I. 3. PANTHINO.

Some, to DISCOVER islands far away.

Discover had a technical sense in the time of Shakespeare, which indeed it has not entirely lost. Thus, in the title of *The Brief and True Report of the new found land of Virginia, by Sir Richard Grenville*, 1590, the work is said to be made English by "Thomas Hariot, servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the colony, and there employed in *discovering*."

IV. 1. VALENTINE,

I take your offer and will live with you;
Provided that you do no outrages
On SILLY women or poor passengers.

St. John's, in Middlesex, being then a knight. He recorded his pedigree at the Visitation of Middlesex held in that year. His mother was a Southwell of Norfolk, and his sister the wife of Robert Dormer, both eminent Roman Catholic families.

* *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, Part xviii. p. 203.

Silly is not here used in any modern acceptance. It is a term of affection, not of reproach. It denotes that which appealed to the stronger sex for protection in its innocence and simplicity. We have it in the New Testament; "leading captive *silly* women." In pastoral composition it is often applied to one of the most defenceless and innocent of animals. Daniel applies it very happily to an unambitious abode.

To have some *silly* home is my desire,
Still loth to warm me by another's fire.

It would be better to adopt a different orthography, as *seely*, and to give the word a different pronunciation, when it is found in this obsolete sense.

We want the word in its old signification. But words of this kind, in England at least, cannot keep their ground. *Silly*, which originally betokened amiable defencelessness, now denotes ignorance and folly. *Simple*, which originally denoted single-mindedness, integrity, now denotes utter unacquaintedness with the ways of the world, and with the justifiable arts of self-advancement. *Caitiff*, from denoting a person poor and infirm, has become the representative of the wicked and abandoned. Even *innocent* has acquired a bad sense, which promises in time to efface the original meaning of this beautiful Latin compound. These changes in language, indicating as they do so much of the heart of society, are little creditable to human nature, especially when it is placed under the guidance of Christian instructors.

Still ours is not the only language in which these discreditable changes have taken place: *εὐήθη*, which must once have denoted the well-disposed, occurs in the Greek writers generally in the sense of weak, foolish, imbecile.

V. 4. VALENTINE.

Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
 And to the nightingale's complaining notes
 Tune my distresses, and record my woes.

A better illustration of the word *record* than any in the notes is supplied by a contemporary poet.

Now as abroad the stately courts did sound
 Of trumpets, shaghots, cornets, and of flutes,
 Even so within, there wants no pleasing sound
 Of virginal, of viol, and of lutes;
 Upon the which persons not few were found
 That did *record* their loves and loving suits,
 And in some song of love, and wanton verse,
 Their good or ill successes did rehearse.

HARINGTON'S ARIOSTO, Canto vii. St. 18.

Harington, in another passage, applies the same terms to the singing of the nightingale :—

Where nightingales did strain their little throats,
Recording still their sweet and pleasant notes.

Canto vi. St. 21.

How palpably is the beginning of this speech of Valentine the original of the beautiful speech of the banished duke in *As You Like It*. “Now, my comates and fellows in exile,” &c.

How use doth breed a habit in a man !
 This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
 I better brook than flourishing peopled towns.

Indeed the commentators have very justly remarked that we may find in this play the germ of more laboured passages in later plays, which appears to me to be a kind of evidence that Shakespeare regarded this play as *abandoned*, and would not have included it in any edition of his works, had one been prepared by himself.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

The history of the successive editions of this play is not anywhere that I know of so fully and distinctly exhibited as it ought to be.

The commentators, early and recent, have shewn from the Register of the Stationers' Company that a play with this title was entered to John Busby on January 18, 1601, which is stated to be 1601-2. It was afterwards assigned by Busby to Arthur Johnson, by whom a play so entitled was printed in quarto, having the date 1602 in the title-page. This, however, is not the play as we now have it, being scarcely half the length, and differing from the play in material respects in passages which are common to both.

No copy of this edition was known to Steevens when in 1766 he published in four volumes 8vo. reprints of the quartos of twenty plays, a work very exactly done, and most exceedingly useful to those critics on Shakespeare's text to whom the original quartos are only occasionally accessible. But since the date of Steevens' publication four copies of this edition have become known to inquirers in this department, and from one of them a reprint has been prepared by Mr. J. O. Halliwell, and published by the Shakespeare Society, 8vo. 1842.

But though Steevens had not seen a copy of this edition, Theobald had; and had taken the pains of entering the results of a collation of that edition with another quarto printed in 1619, containing the play in the same contracted or imperfect state, in the margin of that other quarto. Theobald's copy of this second edition came into the hands of Steevens after

he had printed his copy of the said second edition. The variations between the editions of 1602 and 1619 appeared to him so immaterial that he thought it unnecessary to give more of it in his own than the title-page, which he gave chiefly, as he says, because it confirmed the report of the play having been performed before Queen Elizabeth ; and a comparison of the two editions shews that the second is but a reprint of the first, with such variations only as are attributable to the carelessness with which the book was printed.

This edition of 1619 came from the same publisher as that of 1602, namely, Arthur Johnson. It may be found in the first volume of Steevens' reprints of the quartos.

Next came the folio of 1623. Here we have, for the first time, the play in its full proportions.

Lastly, of the early editions we have a quarto printed for R. Meighen in 1630, which is said in the title-page to be "newly corrected." This is also to be found in Steevens' reprints ; but it can be regarded in no other light than as a copy from the folio.

A material and very curious question arises upon all this,—namely, in what light the editions of 1602 and 1619 are to be regarded ; whether, as Mr. Halliwell contends, they present the play in its original state, a sketch, as it were, of a finished picture, or, as Mr. Collier maintains, they exhibit only such a copy of the original as might be made by a person or persons who resorted to the theatre for the purpose of taking down the play as the words fell from the actors ; that, in short, the copy entered to Busby and published by Johnson was obtained surreptitiously, and circulated without any communication with the author or the company whose property the work was, and, consequently, without any opportunity of consulting the original manuscript.

There are difficulties pressing against either supposition.

In the first place, there is the testimony of Johnson's title-page that the play as he gives it is "as it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlain's servants, both before her Majesty and elsewhere." But if we reason upon this we ought to know what reputation Johnson the publisher had established for himself. Again, it is said in a tradition first publicly noticed by Dennis that the play was completed in a fortnight, to which tradition the play in its imperfect or its shorter state may be thought to correspond better than in the finished and perfect form in which we find it in the folios. But, on the other hand, Shakespeare was a rapid composer, and when it is said that the play was finished in a fortnight (supposing the tradition to be worthy of belief) is it necessary to suppose that it might not afterwards receive additional touches from the author's hand? It has been supposed that there are indications of changes having been made in this play subsequently to the death of Elizabeth, as if there had been a revision in the reign of her successor; and one passage is particularly dwelt upon as leading to this conclusion,—namely, where in the first scene of the first act Falstaff says, "You'll complain of me to the King," which in the shorter copy stands thus: "You'll complain of me to the council." This appears, however, but uncertain ground, "King" being the word much to be preferred to "council," and suiting the historical period to which Sir John Falstaff belongs. The argument on the mention of the Cotswold games, which, it is said, did not exist till the reign of James the First, and therefore could not find a place in any play written in the reign of Elizabeth, is founded on an historical misapprehension concerning those games. Warton has a long note respecting them, in which he argues from the passage that this portion of the play was not written before the reign of James the First.

The usual reply has been that these games were not first instituted by Dover, but that he only revived them; but if the *Annalia Dubrensis* had been more carefully examined it would have been found that it was in the reign of Elizabeth, and not in that of James the First, that Dover instituted or revived these games. The *Annalia* was printed in 1636, but Dover's own games are there said to have been kept up for forty years, which carries us back to 1596.

When again we consider how in its state as exhibited in the quarto of 1602 it is far less worthy of the genius of Shakespeare, and of the occasion on which it is said to have been composed, and how in its complete state it appears to be a work continuous in its composition, and not like one which had been once completed, and then, at periods more or less distant, resumed, and scenes or long passages written and inserted, it can hardly be doubted that the play, as it appears in the folio, is the play substantially as it existed in the reign of Elizabeth, and as it was performed before her.

There is one long and very beautiful passage which is not in the copy of 1602, and which, too plainly to be mistaken, speaks for itself as having been written with an especial view to the performance of the play at court, and, I should say, before a female sovereign who had honoured the author with her notice.

Search Windsor castle, elves, within and out :
 Strew good luck, oushes, on every sacred room,
 That it may stand till the perpetual doom
 In state as wholesome as in state 'tis fit,
 Worthy the owner and the owner it.
 The several chairs of order look you scour
 With juice of balm and every precious flower :
 Each fair instalment, coat, and several crest
 With loyal blazon, evermore be blest !
 And nightly, meadow fairies ! look yon sing,
 Like to the garter's compass, in a ring :
 The expressure that it bears green let it be,

beginning of the last century; and it is much that it has not been remarked that this tradition may be regarded as wholly independent of the testimony of the title-page of the edition of 1602, in which it is distinctly affirmed that the play was performed before the Queen, the existence of any such testimony being doubtless unknown to any of the three critics named, or to any of the persons about the theatres, little inquiry being in those days made for the few copies of the quartos which had escaped destruction.

Some critics have thought they perceived an additional corroboration of this tradition in marks of something like constraint in the play itself, as if the author were obeying a command,—marks of *the subjection of genius*. These indications are too refined and subtle to carry much conviction with them to other minds than those in which they take their rise; but it will not be doubted that Shakespeare's choice of Windsor for the scene of the play, the frequent allusions to particular places or objects in that vicinity, the allusions to the court, the special notice of the order, the benediction of the palace—are all concurrent proofs of the tradition, at least so far as this, that the play was composed with a special intention that it should be performed before the Queen and her ladies.

In favour of the tradition it may also be observed that we have the indisputable testimony of Jonson that Shakespeare had the good fortune to please the Queen:

Which so did take Eliza and our James.

Yet without this tradition we have no special instances in proof of this, and all we should know would be that *The Merry Wives* and the *Love Labours Lost* were actually performed before her.*

* There is a nearly contemporary testimony to the fondness of Queen Elizabeth for theatrical entertainments, and to the way in which she regarded and

Assuming then that we are not to look for two dates of the composition of this play, but to regard it as substantially what it now is when it was first presented before the Queen, the question which next arises is this—to what particular year is the play to be referred? What we know respecting its date is that preparations were making for the printing of it in a corrupt state in January 1602. It had then probably been some time on the stage, as in the title-page of the edition of that year it is said that it had been divers times acted, both before the Queen and elsewhere. Mr. Chalmers contends that it was written in 1596; Mr. Halliwell would throw the composition of it still further back; but had it existed before 1598 it would scarcely have escaped being mentioned by Meres. Yet I cannot think that 1598 is too early. The command of Queen Elizabeth would follow not long after the gratification she had received from the character of Falstaff in the two parts of *King Henry the Fourth*, which were both written before that year. At that date also Dover was instituting or reviving the Cotswold games, and Shakespeare, in that kindly spirit in which so many things were done by him, might feel a pleasure in bringing the efforts of Dover under the notice of the court, with a view to his encouragement.*

recompensed persons who in this way contributed to her amusement, which has not, I think, been quoted. "Likewise our late Queen of blessed memory, how well she approved of these recreations, being, as she termed them, harmless spenders of time, the large exhibitions which she conferred on such as were esteemed notable in that kind may sufficiently witness. Neither did she hold it any derogation to that royal and princely majesty which she then in her regal person presented to give some countenance to their endeavours, whereby they might be better encouraged in their actions." Braithwaite's *English Gentleman*, 4to. 1635, p. 189.

* The Cotswold Hills were not so far from Stratford that the establishment upon them of annual meetings for the enjoyment of rural sports upon a great scale might not be an object of interest to the people there, and through them to Shakespeare himself. Robert Dover, by whom they were either instituted or revived and greatly improved,—“one Dover,” as the commentators have thought

Further, *The Merry Wives* must have been produced before *King Henry the Fifth*, because in that play we have a circumstantial account of the death of Sir John Falstaff; and *King Henry the Fifth* was written in 1599. Such a command as that of the Queen might indeed suggest to him that having exhibited Falstaff in two plays, and made him the hero of a third, it was time to dismiss him from the stage.

I cannot but think also that he would not have introduced the contemptuous passages by which the mind is irresistibly led to Cherlecome and the Lucys when his old enemy Sir Thomas Lucy was dying or recently dead, and he died on July the seventh, 1600.

The slight allusion to Raleigh, and his unwise pamphlet, "She is a region of Guiana, all gold and bounty," which is not found in the edition of 1602, carries us back to a period not long after the appearance of Raleigh's tempting representations, which were first held out in 1596.

This play is remarkable for the great variety of what in

proper to designate him,—was a Norfolk man by birth, but living at Barton-on-the-Heath, where he practised the law as an attorney. So far we may collect concerning him from the *Annalia Dubrensis*, a rare volume, containing numerous poems in praise of Dover and his games. First among the contributors occurs Drayton, and he is followed by Ben Jonson, Owen Feltham, Basse, Shakerley Marmion, Thomas Heywood, and other poetical names, but not Shakespeare's. From the heralds, in their visitation of Warwickshire, 1682, we learn that his wife was a daughter of Dr. Cole, the Dean of Lincoln, one of whose sons contributes to the *Annalia*, and that he had a son who was a captain of horse under Prince Rupert. This son was living as late as 1682, when he had a son who was a barrister of Gray's Inn, and several daughters, most of whom were married in London. The barrister produced to the heralds a shield of arms, with crest, motto, and even supporters, which he alleged had been assigned to his grandfather, an allegation which the heralds were slow to admit. The arms were a black, or probably a dark purple cinquefoil, on an ermine field, with a hingle-horn sable, stringed or, on a canton vert: the crest, a bird upon a tower, preparing to take flight, and the supporters were a hound and a horse (allusive to the games), both in silver; the motto *Do-Even Good*. See K. 3 in College of Arms, f. 117.

those days were called "humours" of men. Besides Falstaff and his companions, each of whom has his peculiar turn of mind, or "humour," we have Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh Evans, representatives of characters existing in classes, the one of the foreign quack physician, the other of the inferior clergyman, half divine, half illiterate pedagogue, not to mention Ford, the plain burgher of Windsor, and Fenton, the love-lorn youth, and Slender, the weak cousin and parasite of an ignorant country-justice. It is a pure English comedy; and it has sometimes occurred to me as probable that it was written thus, purposely to shew Jonson, who, in his Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, had ridiculed the romantic comedy, what Shakespeare was able to do in selecting, grouping, and delineating the humours and dispositions of living men.

Reserving what I have to say on Falstaff till he appears before us in his proper place in the English histories, I shall offer a few remarks on other characters in this drama.

And first on Slender. Most assuredly, notwithstanding the introduction of the dozen white laces, the Lucys were not a family which in those days produced Shallows and Slenders; but on this subject enough has been said in the first portion of this work, and I proceed at once to observe that there is nothing in the editions of Shakespeare to shew that the character of Slender has been justly apprehended by the editors, and in consequence of the want of this just apprehension the parts which he sustains in the dialogue are not properly represented by the press. Whether the actor understands the character better than the editors I know not. Slender belongs to the family of the *Quoters*,—"those that answer out of books," as Marston says.

He, good man, has very small wit of his own; but he endeavours to make up for his own deficiency by repeating what

he has read, or what he remembers of the proverbial and traditionary phrase of his countrymen. But even here the smallness of his own wit is apparent in the injudicious choice which he makes from amidst the stores of memory, and the utter inaptness of the applications. Nothing comes amiss,—official papers are to him treasures of sentiment, and supply him with the first words he utters: “In the county of Gloucester justice of peace and *coram* ;” and when he has made an effort, and says something of his own, he quickly relapses into his old habit, and he goes on, “in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation,” which is still the phraseology of a public instrument. When he says “Mistress Anne Page? She has brown hair, and speaks small like a woman,” the latter part is evidently a quotation of something which he had read or heard as the character of a man, and which he thus inaptly applies to a woman. And when, at the sight of Mrs. Anne, he says, “I had rather than forty shillings I had my book of songs and sonnets here,” the commentators ought not to send us to Lord Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, as he evidently speaks of some manuscript book of his own, in which he had copied sundry things of this kind to be reproduced by him on occasion, and which his memory, poor man, does not retain, or present now when most wanted. When he makes his great effort, and speaks so that what he says requires not less than seven lines of type, “I will marry her, Sir, at your request,” so far he depends on himself; but he immediately falls to quoting, and one of the popular sentiments and phrases of the country occurs to him,—“If there be no great love at the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it on better acquaintance,” as plainly appears by his blundering substitution of “decrease” for “increase.” Again he trusts to himself, and says “When we are married, and have more occasion to know one another—” but he falls into his old

habit, and hopes that "upon familiarity will grow more contempt." When he appears again he begins by quoting: "Keep a gamester from the dice, and a good student from his book, and it is wonderful;" and, to pass over his frequent use of well-known proverbs, the nonsense of saying that he will maintain his expected bride "under the degree of a squire," is to be understood as an unsuitable application of something in his memory. In printing this play what Slender speaks as a quoter should be marked as quotation.

Sir Hugh Evans, who is the representative of the curate and pedagogue conjoined, of the time, speaks in his broad Welsh accent. This kind of speech must have been very familiar to Shakespeare in his youth, so many Welsh people having taken up their abode at Stratford, as hath already been shewn; and that this early familiarity with the Welsh mode of pronouncing the English language had something to do with the origination of the characters of Sir Hugh and of Fluellin appears from this, that we have no exhibition of the peculiar pronunciation of either Scottish or Irish persons in any of the plays, or of the peculiar dialect of any particular district in England. The question raised by Dr. Johnson—whether Shakespeare was "the first writer who produced upon the English stage the effect of language distorted and depraved by provincial or foreign pronunciation"—has been set at rest, and Shakespeare was certainly not the first; but he was perhaps the first who introduced the Welsh. It may be observed that there is an excellent specimen of the broad West Country dialect in the share borne by Columella in Sir John Ferne's *Glory of Generosity*, 4to. 1586. It is a dramatic artifice by no means to be despised, and almost essential to the full development of many characters which are proper subjects for the comic drama.

As in Sir Hugh we have the Welsh pronunciation, so in

Dr. Caius we have the broken English of a Frenchman. Dr. Caius is an amusing character, but the poet has been unfortunate in the choice of a name. There was a real Dr. Caius, an Englishman, whose hereditary name of Kaye was thus Latinised and has been lost in this more scholastic form, who had lived so near the poet's time that his name had not passed out of the popular mind, while it was revered amongst scholars for his noble foundation at Cambridge. The memory of this admirable person was in danger of being defamed by the supposition that he was the person indicated by the Dr. Caius of this play; and it is to be feared that there are persons still in whose minds the real and the dramatic Dr. Caius are confounded. The Dr. Caius of Shakespeare is the representative of a class of persons who were held in little esteem by the native practitioners of the art of medicine—foreigners who introduced nostrums, or sometimes, perhaps, who had attained in foreign universities a skill beyond that of the English physicians. Read, whose translation of Arceus was published in 1588, may give us some idea of the persons of whom Dr. Caius is the representative, and of the feeling towards them of a native Englishman :

There came a Fleming into the city of Gloucester named Wolfgang Froliche, and there hanging forth his picture, his flag, his instruments, and his letters of mart, with long lybells, great tassels, broad seals closed in boxes, with such counterfeit shews and knackes of knavery coosening the people of their money without either learning or knowledge. And yet for money got him a licence to practise at Bristow; but when he came to Gloster and being called before some being in authority, by myself and others, he was not able to answer to any one point in chirurgery, which being perceived and the man known, the matter was excused by way of charity, to be good to strangers. And beside, as I understand, there is in the city of London one Peter Ballet, a Dutchman borne, an impudent bragger, &c.

He mentions other foreigners practising surgery in England in the same uncomplimentary terms. This book con-

tains a curious poem which shews something of the state of the medical practice in England in the reign of Elizabeth.

There is one thing connected with Dr. Caius and the Welsh curate which I cannot forbear mentioning, although the probability is of the very slightest kind that the fact was known to Shakespeare, or if known to him present when he made Dr. Caius utter so many contemptuous expressions respecting his Welsh antagonist. The point is this: that the real Dr. Caius in the statutes of the college founded by him specially excludes persons who are Welshmen from holding any of his fellowships.*

Dr. Johnson having said that this play should be read between *King Henry the Fourth* and *King Henry the Fifth*, Mr. Malone interposes an opinion that it should be read between the First and Second Parts of *King Henry the Fourth*; and here begins one of those controversies, of which we have too many connected with Shakespeare, which never can be terminated; the probability being that Shakespeare thought of neither the one nor the other place, but obeyed the royal command in preparing a play of which Falstaff was to be the principal character.

On the whole *The Merry Wives of Windsor* must ever be regarded as a very fine comedy, presenting strongly-marked characters, such as were to be seen in English society in times when there were more marked peculiarities than any we now find in it; full also of entertaining incidents and containing many passages of the truest humour, and others of the most exquisite poetry. The combination of the two plots is admirably managed: Mrs. Anne flits about in grace and beauty, harmonizing the several groups, and giving the unity which is so pleasing in dramatic composition. The

* *Cambridge Portfolio*, 4to, 1839, p. 55.

greatest blemish is that Ford should not have suspected the Brentford woman. The basket we may allow to pass without examination, but that when just awakened to a perception of the trick which had been put upon him he should be deceived by a weaker invention is too improbable.

One of the most pleasing passages in the whole of this comedy is that respecting Herne's Oak, the scene of Falstaff's mortification and Fenton's success :

MRS. PAGE.—There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still of midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns ;
And there he blasts the tree and takes the cattle,
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
In a most hideous and dreadful manner :
You have heard of such a spirit ; and well you know,
The superstitious idle-headed eld
Received and did deliver to our age
This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.

PAGE.—Why, yet there want not many that do fear
In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak.—Act iv. Sc. 4.

This passage has received but little illustration from the old commentators ; but Mr. H. J. Pye, the poet laureate, has in some measure supplied their defects by a note upon this subject in his *Comments on the Commentators*, 8vo. 1807, p. 13. The subject has, however, been lately more fully discussed, and the claims of one tree or another to be the oak which is to share in the poet's immortality have been attacked and defended with great zeal, while all the time the material questions as respects the poet and his works have remained not only without solutions, but almost without being proposed. These questions are (1) whether the whole is an invention of the poet, no such tree, no such name, having ever had a real existence till he called them forth ? If it be said that the manner in which the poet writes seems to lead

to the conclusion that there were such traditions or superstitions gathered about a particular oak near the Castle Ditch, which certainly seems to be the case; then (2) whether there are any means of proving the existence of these superstitions or of the name of Herne's Oak being given to any tree previous to the time when this play was presented before Queen Elizabeth? And (3) whether Herne was a veritable personage, or a mere creation, whether of the poet or of the Windsor popular mind? These are all questions demanding to be examined, previously to any inquiry whether this or the other particular tree is best entitled to the appellation of Herne's Oak. I might add a fourth question, how far back in the time since the performance of this play can the existence of the name "Herne's Oak" be shewn as applied to any of the Windsor trees?

These points, I say, should be determined before we begin to look for the particular tree: at the same time it is fully admitted that the subject has been investigated with great diligence and acuteness in the lines of inquiry taken by them by three gentlemen who are all eminently qualified by intimate local knowledge for the search, Mr. Jesse, Dr. Bromet, and Mr. Knight. It is to be feared that all is done that can be done.

In reference to the third question, though there are many notices existing of the officers employed in old times in Windsor forest, the name of Herne has not been observed among them.

Mr. Halliwell, adhering to what he considers the original sketch of this play, where the passage corresponding to the lines quoted above stands thus,

Oft have you heard since Horne the hunter died,
That women to affright their little children
Say that he walks in shape of a great stag:

(where, it will be observed, "Horne" is not called a keeper,) connects with this inquiry a passage which he has discovered in one of the royal manuscripts at the Museum, which shews that in the reign of Henry the Eighth one "Richard Horne yeoman" was in some trouble for having hunted in one of the king's forests unlawfully; but whether it was Windsor or some other forest is not said.

I. 1.

SHALLOW.—He shall not abuse Robert Shallow, esquire.

SLENDER.—In the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and coram.

SHALLOW.—Ave, cousin Slender, and cust-alorum.

SLENDER.—Ave, and rato-lorum too.

There was no doubt sometimes an ostentation of these phrases among the country justices, which Shakespeare might mean to ridicule. Thus, we find on a monument in the church of Lacock in Wilts: "Here lieth the body of Edward Bainard, Esquire, who for the space of many years, even to his dying day, was justice of peace and corum, and sometimes custos rotulorum, and high-sheriff of the county of Wilts, &c." He died in 1575.

Coram may be but a corruption of *quorum*. Many commissions run declaring the minimum which would constitute a court, but *of whom*, "*quorum*" such and such person must be one. Yet *coram* may be justified, as if it were *coram nobis*, the justices of the peace having authority to call persons before them. Thus Park, a writer of King William's time—

The best of all the nobis coram,
For law and sense is not before him.

I. 1. SLENDER.—How does your fallow grey-hound, Sir? I heard say he was outrun on Cotsale.

This, as the scene is arranged, is addressed to Mr. Page:

but, as it seems improbable that he, residing at Windsor, should have a dog run at the Cotswold games, and as nothing can be more probable than that the two Gloucestershire men should send dogs thither, I would suggest the probability that these words ought to be spoken by Page. The venison just mentioned naturally introduced the idea of hounds. At the same time both quartos and folios agree in the present arrangement.

I. 2. EVANS.

I pray you, begone ; I will make an end of my dinner ; there's PIPPINS AND CHEESE to come.

This is in conformity with the practice of the times. At a wedding banquet, the account of which has been often printed, the last article placed on the table was "apples and cheese scraped with sugar and sage:" and Wadsworth, describing the mode of living in the English college at St. Omers, 1618, says, "Each man hath first brought him a mess of broth, which is the ante-past: afterwards half a pound of beef, which they call their portion ; after an apple or piece of cheese, for their post-past: bread and beer as they call for it."—*The English Spanish Pilgrim*, p. 16.

I. 3. HOST,

What says my BULLY-ROOK ?

The question—whether it should be *Bully-Rook* or *Bully-Rock*, is scarcely worth deciding, except as two famous commentators have degraded the gentlemanly game of chess by deducing this vulgar phrase from it. I add to all that has been written on the subject, and it is far too much on so worthless an occasion, that Meriton, in his clever tract, *The Praise of Yorkshire Ale*, makes his north-countryman open thus:—

*My bully-locks, I've been experienced long
In most of liquors that is counted strong,
Of claret, white wine, and Canary sack,
Rhenish, and Malaga, &c.—p. 2.*

Then follows a long and curious list of wines drunk in England in the reign of Charles the Second.

I. 3. PISTOL.

Steal! foh; a vico for the phrase.

A commentator on Shakespeare must be content to meet occasionally with base words. The note in *Boswell's Malone* is of little value, and the dissertation of Mr. Douce, to which reference is made, is long and learned but unsatisfactory, and, as it seems to me, mistaken. Florio, the best of all writers for the illustration of words such as this, explains the Italian *fica*, by "a fig . . . also a flurt with one's fingers, given in disgrace;" and it is quite consistent with the character of Pistol to suppose that both here and in *King Henry the Fifth*, where he uses the same phraseology, he accompanied the word with a contemptuous snap of the finger.

I. 3. FALSTAFF.

Briefly, I do mean to make love to Ford's wife; I spy entertainment in her; she discourses, she CARVES, she gives the leer of invitation.

The commentators have no other idea of the word *carve*, than that it denotes the familiar action of carving at table. But it is a quite different word.

It occurs in a very rare poetic tract, entitled, *A Prophecie of Cadwallader, last King of the Britaines*, by William Herbert, 4to. 1604, which opens with a description of Fortune, and of some who had sought to gain her favour.

Then did this Queen her wandering coach ascend,
 Whose wheels were more inconstant than the wind :
 A mighty troop this empress did attend ;
 There might you Caius Marius *carving* find,
 And martial Sylla courting Venus kind :
 Times alter, and in times we changed be,
 Chance only constant is in levity.

And this I take to be the word which occurs in Biron's character of Boyet,

This gallant pins the wenches on his sleeve ;
 Had he been Adam he had tempted Eve :
 He can *carve* too and lisp : why, this is he
 That kissed away his hand in courtesy.

LOVE LABOURS LOST, v. 2.

On a comparison of these few passages it would seem to mean some form of action, which indicated the desire that the person to whom it was addressed should be attentive and propitious.

I. 4. SIMPLE.

Ay, forsooth : but he is as TALL A MAN OF HIS HANDS as any is between this and his head ; he hath fought with a warrener.

"Between this and his head" is nonsense : but perhaps the poet intended that Simple should utter nonsense. *Tall* was not confined in Shakespeare's time to that which it now means, but was used very much at large for corporeal qualities of any kind connected with boldness, force, &c. : and "a tall man of his hands" is by no means an unfrequent expression :—

"If he can kill a man, and dare rob upon the highway, he is called a *tall* man, and a *valiant* man of his hands."—*Treatise on Plays*, by John Northbrook ; Introduction.

Then Brot and Hammon, brothers, twins, stout *champions of their hands*,
 In wrestling peerless.—GOLDING'S OVID.

"Of his hands" is apparently little more than a mere

expletive, but, whatever it is, it has nothing to do with that to which Bishop Percy refers it.

Naunton, speaking of Lord Hunsdon, says, "As he lived in a ruffling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call *men of their hands*."

It had probably very little meaning at the beginning. An early instance of it is in one of the Letters of the Plumpton Correspondence, published by the Camden Society. "And 'at it please your good mastership to heare and consider the great rumor, slander, and full noyse of your tenants of your said lordshipp, 'att they should be *untrew peopell of their hands*, taking goods by mean of untrewth."—p. 38.

II. 2. FOND.

Not only bought many presents to give her, but have given largely to many to know what she would have given.

This has an allusion to the anxiety of the courtiers to know what it would be acceptable to Queen Elizabeth to receive as a new year's gift. These gifts came in such showers upon her, that it was no easy matter to find out what she had not of the articles of dress and ornament which formed the usual presents on these occasions. There is another allusion to the court in this scene, where it is said, "there has been earls, nay, which is more, pensioners." In both there is a little playful satire, but not so sharp as to be displeasing, either to the Queen or to those about her.

II. 3. HOOT.

To see thee fight, to see thee *FOIN*, to see thee traverse, to see thee here, to see thee there.

It may be doubted whether *foin* is rightly explained in the notes, as meaning to make a thrust in fencing or tilting. It was not so undersood by Sylvester.

But in what fence-school, of what master, say,
 Brave pearl of soldiers, learn'd thy hands to play,
 So at so sundry weapons, such passados,
 Such thrusts, such *foynes*, stramazos, and stoocados.

DU BARTAS, 4to. 1611. p. 401.

II. 3. HOST.

But first, master Guest and master Page, and eke CAVALERO SLENDER, go you through the town to Frogmore.

In this we have another piece of playful satire upon the court, which was haunted by a certain Sir Robert Swyft, a knight of the north country, who went by the name of Cavalero Swyft, the Queen having, it was said, bestowed that title upon him. It was a joke of the time to turn this name into Cavalero *Shift*, which "Cavalero Slender" would be likely to suggest.

III. 2. HOST.

He speaks holy-day: he smells April and May.

The criticism upon this passage might have been spared. Shakespeare never intended that it should be critically scanned. It has a grace beyond the reach of art: and speaks its own beautiful meaning with sufficient clearness and precision.

III. 4. SLENDER.

Ay, that I will, COME CUT AND LONGTAIL, under the degree of a 'squire.

Slender's talk is scarcely worth illustrating, and I have already bestowed a few lines on this passage. The clause printed in capitals is of frequent occurrence in writers of Shakespeare's age, and is only an idle expression, denoting all persons or things of what kind soever. A passage is quoted in the notes from Ulpian Fulwell, in which it occurs, and it is found in the old play of *George a Green*, and is used by Laneham, Harsnet, and Fletcher. It is taken, not

from *dogs*, as Mr. Collier represents it, but from *horses*. *Longtail* speaks for itself, and in Lodge's *Looking Glass for London and England*, 4to. 1602, I find "sound horses, whole horses, sore horses, coursers, curtails, jades, *cuts*, hacknies, and mares." A similar expression is still in use.

IV. 6.

HOST. Which means she to deceive, father or mother?

FENTON. Both, my good host, to go along with me.

The scene at Herne's Oak should be read with the recollection of the masques, and May-day and Midsummer amusements of our ancestors, which are now blotted from the calendar of joy. No doubt there were evils attending them, as what is there human that is not so accompanied? And deceptions of this kind might sometimes occur in real life. We have at least poetical authority for it.

Amidst the bridal feast

Brought in that Mask of Love which late was shown,

And there the lady ill of friends bestedded,

By way of sport, *as oft in masques is known*,

Conveyed quite away, to living wight unknown.

F. Q. iv. 1. 3.

It is a warning and caution of this kind which Shakespeare gives, when he makes Falstaff say, in the last scene,

When night-dogs run all sorts of deer are chased.

He was jealous of the effect which such an exhibition as this at Herne's Oak might possibly have on the young and giddy who witnessed it.

In the speech of Fenton it seems too superstitious an adherence to the old copies to read *even*.

Her mother *ever* strong against that match.

And I would suggest,

To give our hearts united—ceremony.

V. 5. PISTOL.

Vile worm, thou wast o'erlooked e'en in thy birth.

I should scarcely have thought this required a word of explanation, but, as we are taught to understand *o'er-looked* to mean "*slighted* as soon as born," I add, that the *over-looking* of a witch is what was intended.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Few of Shakespeare's plays give so little pleasure as this. The fault is, in a great measure, in the plot, which is improbable and disgusting. But the play wants character. The principal persons are unindividualized men and women, and it may be doubted whether they always exhibit the feeling which really belongs to the strange situations in which they are placed. The Friars are but the Friars of *Romeo and Juliet* revived; and the Clowns who are forced upon the stage not brought into action by the necessities of the story, the least entertaining of their species. Yet the last Act is finely constructed; and, in the character of Mariana at the moated grange, we see what a few strokes of a master's pen may accomplish. Yet this slight portion of the play is better known since attention was called to it by Mr. Tennyson's poem, which may well deserve to find a place at the end of any edition of this play, just as Collins's *Dirge* is found at the end of *Cymbeline*.

The story has no doubt been often told, and applied to one unpopular person after another. To the writers named in the notes, by whom it has been told, may be added Goulart, of whom there is an English translation by Edward Grimston, entitled, *Admirable and Memorable Histories of our Time*, published in 1607. It is useless to inquire whether this were the first edition, as it was not to this work that Shakespeare was indebted, but to the *Promos and Cassandra*, a play printed in 1578, of which the author was George Whetstone, one of the many poets of the Elizabe-

than age who were connected with the naval and military enterprise of the time.*

There are several striking passages in this play which live in men's memories, though the recollection of them is not stimulated by the recitation at the theatres. With remarks upon two of these I dismiss this play.

III. 1. ISABELLA.

Darest thou die?

The sense of Death is most in apprehension;
And the poor beetle that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance, finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies.

It is the singular fate of these words to be for ever quoted as containing a sentiment which is really the very opposite to that which they were meant to convey. It is no plea for the lower orders of animals, on the ground that they suffer as much in death as does man himself, and that, therefore, care should be taken not to injure them: but the speaker endeavours to remove from the mind of her unfortunate brother the natural dread of death, and of the pain which accompanies it, by representing that death is no more to man than to the poor beetle which is crushed beneath the foot, and in a moment all sense and feeling are annihilated. The amiable author of a treatise entitled *Zoophilos*, alluding to this passage, says he cannot recollect that humanity to brutes is "expressly inculcated as a virtue earlier than the

* Much has been done for Whetstone by the modern writers on the literature of this period. I add that he appears to have been a native of London. There is an inquisition abstracted in one of the volumes in the Harleian Library, known as Cole's Escheats, (Harl. 411,) on the death of a Robert Whetstone, who died in 1557, leaving five sons—Robert, Bernard, George, Francis, and John, of whom Robert, the eldest, was then aged 17. He had a tenement called The Three Gilded Anchors, in West Cheap, and five messuages in Gutter Lane. Fleetwood, the Recorder, was related to Whetstone, as appears by the dedication to him of *Promos and Cassandra*.

time of our own Shakespeare." The natural history of the passage, taken in either sense, is incorrect.

III. 1. CLAUDIUS.

Ay, but to die and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot:
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the DELIGHTED SPIRIT
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice, &c.

Few expressions have exercised more the ingenuity of commentators than "the delighted spirit" of this passage. Some maintain that the passage is corrupt. Hanmer suggests *dilated*; Thirlby, *delinquent*; and Johnson, *benighted*: all equally objectionable. Those who adhere to the text as it has come down to us, explain it as conveying the idea of the spirit accustomed to delights.

I beg to offer a slightly different explanation. The poet evidently intends to shew how first the body, and next the spirit, are disposed of when the separation has taken place. The body he designates by an expression of singular appropriateness and beauty, "this sensible warm motion;" where "motion" is used in its sense of an ingeniously constructed machine, an automaton, a wooden puppet moved by strings, a very common meaning of the word. Such an ingeniously constructed work is the human frame, with the additional circumstances that it is "warm" and "sensible." This "motion," so curiously and wonderfully made, becomes no more than a "kneaded clod;" all its fine organization is broken to pieces and perishes.—He then turns to the soul which inhabited this body, and, full of the beautiful conception he had formed of it, speaks of "the spirit" as "delighted" in having had such an habitation provided for it, loth to be torn away, and shrinking from the thought of

the uncertain destiny which awaits it. Some critics have thought that, in the remainder of the passage, Shakespeare had certain passages in Dante in his mind.

That the word "motion" was used in the sense here attributed to it scarcely requires justification. The following line from Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* may be sufficient:

The *motion* says you lie: he is called Dionysius.

Act v. Sc. 5.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

THE Rev. Mr. Barry, of Draycote, who has paid great attention to the state of the text of Shakespeare, pointed out to me a change silently introduced by the editors, and at the same time justified the old reading, which shews at once that the apparently true reading is not always the really true, that a change may be made in which both the readings may be said to express a sense that is not very bad, and that it is the wisdom and duty of an editor to be very cautious before he abandon the old text, and invent one of his own. The passage is in the first scene of the fifth act, where the Merchant says,

Anon, I am sure, the duke himself in person
Comes this way to the melancholy vale,
The place of death and sorry execution,
Behind the ditches of the abbey here.

This is Rowe's reading, and it has kept its place in all editions, including this last of Mr. Collier's.

Few readers would, on the first reading, suspect a corruption and deterioration of Shakespeare's genuine text; but in the third line "the place of death" has usurped upon the old reading, "the place of depth;" meaning in this Greek story, the Barathrum, the deep pit, into which offenders were cast. So Jonson :

Opinion ! let gross opinion sink
As deep as Barathrum.

EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR. Edit. 1601.*

* It is necessary to specify the edition, as the passage would be sought for in vain in the other old copies of this play; the long speech, of which these few words are the beginning, having been withdrawn by the author, perhaps as

There is good reason to think that "the melancholy vale" is a proper name, and that it ought therefore to be printed thus: *The Melancholy Vale*,—as indeed it is in the folios. Both are instances of the same mistaken principle of translation, to which we have before had occasion to refer.

In the same scene, Adriana says,

May it please your grace, Antipholus, my husband—
Whom I made lord of me and all I had,
At your important letters—

where the allusion is to the custom of royal letters being sometimes addressed to ladies with great fortunes in behalf of certain persons who had the means of obtaining them: "Sir William Compton shewed unto me my Lord Cardinal wrote unto Mrs. Vernon, if she would attain the king's favour, to bear her good mind unto his servant Tyrwhit."* The second folio, and probably the first, reads "impotent," which is changed in the modern editions, without notice, but probably rightly.

being undramatic. It ought to be preserved in every edition of this poet, as it is in Gifford's, exhibiting as it does the fine spirit in which Jonson entered on his poetical career, and the vigour of his mind:

If it can stand with your most wished content,
I can refel opinion; and approve
The state of poesy such as it is,
Blessed, eternal, and most true divine, &c.

* Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, &c. vol. i. p. 29, where, in a note, is a copy of one of these letters.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

THIS sprightly and most entertaining comedy, which we cannot have the least hesitation in ascribing, in all its parts, to Shakespeare, was entered for publication on the Stationers' Register in August 1600. It was printed in that year, and we are informed in the title-page that it had been "sundry times acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants," that is, by the company of performers to which Shakespeare belonged. It does not occur in Meres' List in 1598, so that it may be referred, with little chance of error, to the year 1600.

In the folio it was placed between *The Comedy of Errors* and *Love Labours Lost*, both earlier and very different compositions; a proof that there was little of system or design in the original arrangement.

Where all is admirable, each in its own kind, it may seem superfluous to single out any thing for especial commendation. But attention may be drawn to the address with which the change in Benedick and Beatrice is brought about, and the great difficulty overcome of uniting them without shocking offensively the demands of probability. But every part is executed with infinite skill, quite in the best manner of this best master.

There is much of incident and plot of Shakespeare's own invention. What relates to Hero, and her cruel treatment, is a tale of Bandello's; but the whole of what belongs to Benedick and Beatrice is without a counterpart in the Italian novel, and, as far as is at present known, peculiar to Shakespeare himself. It is only the second plot, but it is

so highly wrought, so admirably finished, so interesting, and so entertaining, that the main plot is thrown rather too much into the shade, and it is indisputable that when we hear *Much Ado* spoken of we think not of Claudio and Hero, but of Benedick and Hero's cousin Beatrice.

While the commentators have sent us to Bandello for the serious and anxious incidents in the history of Hero, they have not even attempted to assign to any origin the share of the plot which belongs to Benedick and Beatrice; nor do they appear to have surmised that there was any thing connected with this part of the play in the mind of the poet beside the amusement which two such characters, and the circumstances in which they are placed, could not fail to occasion. But this in all probability was not the case. When he read this portion of the dialogue,

BEATRICE.—By my troth, I am exceeding ill :—hey-ho !

MARGARET.—For a hawk, a horse, or a husband ?

BEATRICE.—For the letter that begins them all, H.

Act iii. Sc. 4.

Dr. Johnson remarks, “ This is a poor jest, somewhat obscured, and not worth the trouble of elucidation :” and so it is, were there no more in it than the learned commentator perceived. But suppose H was intended to suggest to the intelligent, at once both *ache* and something else—*Herbert*,—and we can find a reason why it should do so,—the jest will not be so vapid as at present it appears, or so unworthy the genius of Shakespeare, which never slumbered while he was portraying Benedick and Beatrice.

To the multitude, however, there was probably no more in the expression than the poor jest which Dr. Johnson did not think worth the trouble of elucidation; but to a few persons, who were accustomed to resort to the theatre, personal friends of Shakespeare, for he had personal friends

among the young nobility of the time, its secondary meaning would be apparent, and the jest would no doubt by them be most highly approved and admired. That it had this secondary meaning, and that there is much in the play which is connected with this secondary meaning, is the point which I now propose, if not to prove, yet to make exceedingly probable.

That individual persons were sometimes introduced upon the stage in those times is matter of perfect notoriety. I shall content myself with two testimonies. The first is that of Shakespeare's contemporary, Heywood, who in his *Apology for Actors*, published in 1612, distinctly admits as abuses that had crept in which he meant not to defend, the inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the city, and "*particularizing private men's humours yet alive, noblemen and others.*" The next is that of the second Villiers Duke of Buckingham :—

When Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher ruled the stage,
They took so bold a freedom with the age,
That there was scarce a knave or fool in town
Of any note but had his picture shown.

This, though a late testimony, will have weight when we connect it with what is related of the duke in the preface to *The Rehearsal*, that "he became well acquainted, by his education, and conversation of the greatest persons of his time, with the writings of the most celebrated poets of the late age, namely, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Jonson, the last of whom he knew personally, being thirteen years old when he died, as also with the famous company of actors at Blackfriars, whom he always admired," &c.

It is therefore no matter of surprise if we find that the character of a young nobleman of those times is partially reflected in the character of Benedick, and that certain events in the

history of that young nobleman's life were the immediate occasion of the writing these scenes of the drama.

Henry Herbert, the second Herbert Earl of Pembroke, of the new creation, married Mary Sidney, the sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and also of Sir Robert Sidney, who, in the reign of James the First, was created Earl of Leicester. Their eldest son, named William, was born on the 8th of April 1580. While his father lived he was William Lord Herbert, and on his father's death, on the 19th of January 1600-1, he became the third Earl of Pembroke, and was one of the most eminent persons of the reign of James the First.

Of the pursuits, character, and history of this young nobleman, while his father was still living, we should have known as little as we do of other minors of the time, but for a rather unusual concurrence of fortunate circumstances. It happened that his uncle, Sir Robert Sidney, was sent abroad, as Governor of Flushing. It happened also that Sir Robert Sidney was a person extremely desirous of information of all that passed at the English court, and that he had provided for himself a very assiduous and faithful intelligencer, in the well-known Rowland Whyte, whose gossiping letters are among the pleasantest of all that have descended from those times. It has happened also that nearly the whole of the letters which Whyte addressed to Sir Robert have been preserved; and, to complete the fortunate accidents which have concurred in opening to us an insight into the manner of life and history of the young Lord Herbert, these letters have been made public, having been printed in the work published in 1746, entitled *Letters and Memorials of the Family of Sidney*. There are two bundles of them, one consisting of letters written in 1597, the other in the period between the 4th of August 1599 and the close of the

year 1600. The *Much Ado*, as has been already shewn, was entered for publication in August 1600.

It is from the second of these sets of letters that the following singular narrative is compiled :

Sir Robert Sidney, it may be previously observed, used Rowland Whyte not merely as an intelligencer to send him the news of the day, but as an agent for the management of his affairs at home, while he was himself in an unwilling banishment: and also that he manifests throughout the correspondence the most anxious desire to know what were the pursuits and what the disposition of his nephew, who, then in his twentieth year, was allowed to live in London by his father, who lay ill of the stone at Ramsbury or Wilton. Whyte was in the most favourable situation possible for gratifying him in this curiosity, living, as it seems, at Baynard's Castle, the town residence of the Herberts. His letters therefore are full of notices of Lord Herbert, who becomes, however, in a while more prominent in the correspondence, owing to a certain notable device which Whyte took the liberty of forming, with a view to the interest of his master.

On September 8, 1599, Whyte writes from Baynard's Castle, that "My Lord of Pembroke is fallen sick again, I fear of his old disease:" and in his next letter he says, "Now my lord is very ill, and dangerously ill, and my Lord Herbert goes in post to see him; leaving me to observe what suitors there might be for the many places he holds under her Majesty." Of these places it appears by the next letter, which was written from Nonsuch on the 12th, that Whyte thought the office of Lord President of Wales, which was held by the dying earl, the one which it was most desirable to obtain if possible for his master, who thought so too: and this busy agent went immediately to the Countess

of Warwick, Sir Robert Sidney's aunt, and she promised to mention Sir Robert Sidney to the Queen. The Countess, at the same time, suggested that it would be very expedient to make a friend of the Lord Admiral, that is Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, formerly Lord Howard of Effingham. Whyte sought out the Lord Admiral with as little delay as possible, who received the overture very coldly, and finally declined to interfere in the business.

Whyte was not a person to be easily repulsed; and his thoughts were now turned to the means of propitiating the Lord Admiral. Without the least reserve, or the least manifestation of any sense of impropriety in what he was doing, he writes to Sir Robert Sidney as follows:—"I am credibly made believe by a very wise and a grave man that at this instant the Lord Admiral is able to do with the Queen as much as my Lord of Leicester was, if he list to use his credit with her. I mean, as from myself, to break unto him *the marriage of my Lord Herbert with his niece*, and to tell him that your lordship being here, and *wrought to deal in it, might induce both my Lord Herbert and my lady, his mother, to hearken unto it. If anything advance you it must be this, for I see no other way.* To deal truly with your lordship I would leave no course untried that might raise you to that you are most worthy of. I could not presume to deal in a matter of this nature without first receiving your pleasure, but I am forced unto it, lest my Lord Admiral may be wrought to pass his promise for another; and if he affect this motion of mine, which shall come from myself, he will then, no doubt, both promise your return, and stop all men's proceedings in the other place. I will forbear to move it unto him till the assured news of my Lord Pembroke's death be known, which as yet is uncertain."

Here then is an affair of real life occurring at the time, in

which for the success of the scheme it would be necessary to bring a young nobleman into affection with a noble lady, and a lady with him, of whose inclinations nothing appears to have been known, and who might have been as averse from marriage and as little affected to each other, as were Benedick and Beatrice at the opening of this comedy.

On the very day following the date of the last letter Rowland Whyte writes again:—"I give diligent attendance, as desired by your honourable nephew, the Lord Herbert, whom I greatly honour, because I see and know he loves you dearly. I received yesternight letters from him that my lord, his father, hath been cut, and is past all danger. Here had been strange and cunning courses held with him if his father had died, but his recovery hath put all out of bias. The motion I meant to make myself to the Lord Admiral I will now forbear, and also the other I purposed to offer to my Lord Treasurer to promise you the place desired: but will urge a resignation, according to our first intent, or to be joined in patent with him. I am glad, for my Lord Herbert's sake, that this qualm is past. I hope he will live to see his son of full years. I have done my Lord Herbert some agreeable service in his absence, and I hope on his return he will, with more life and care, undertake the great matter which he hath been so cold in, which I know he shall have good success in, being discreetly and warily handled." The "great matter" means no more than endeavouring to ingratiate himself at court.

The idea of bringing about a marriage between Lord Herbert and the niece of the Lord Admiral is not however abandoned: for on the 20th of September, 1599, Whyte writes from Penshurst, using the cypher 600 for the Lord Admiral and 9,000 for Lord Herbert: "I perceive that the Lord Admiral would be glad to have Lord Herbert match in

his house;" whence it is plain that some step had been taken. "I will, as occasion may serve, if it be moved unto me, advise it may be wrought by you. Touching the office in Wales, you had missed it if the earl had died; it must be done while he lives, if it be done at all." On the 2nd of October it appears that Lord Herbert was returned to town, and by several passages in letters of October and November that Whyte was frequently with the Lord Admiral, and also with Sir Robert Cecil, endeavouring to obtain the recall of Sir Robert Sidney. On the 29th of November he writes, "I have some cause to believe that GOO would desire to have him match in his house: I only answer, that a fitter instrument than yourself cannot be found out, if you may be brought to deal in it, which peradventure you might do if you were here." About this time Lord Herbert left town, going to his father in Wiltshire, where he remained till March, being prevented from returning by illness. Lord Effingham, the Lord Admiral's son, was for some time with him at Ramsbury.

During this period the affairs of Sir Robert Sidney were proceeding prosperously: before the end of the year the Lord Admiral was brought to be willing to solicit the Queen to recall him, and the Earl of Pembroke, at his son's request, was willing to resign his place to him.

The next reference which we find to the scheme of the marriage is in a letter of the 8th of March 1600:—"My Lord Herbert will be here upon Wednesday; he must be the honourable instrument of much good to your lordship; and I find your lordship will be thoroughly dealt with upon your return by GOO, in the matter I so often mentioned to you. *If it bring you honour, and contentment to all parties, I shall think myself happy to have been the first motioner of it.*"

On his return to town, Lord Herbert seems to have led a gay life, associating with the young nobility, and sometimes also with poets and players, going to court rather in obedience to instructions than with any view of his own to advance his interest there. On one occasion Whyte uses this expression, "He greatly wants advice;" again, "He is a gallant gentleman, and wants such a friend as you are near unto him." But he was by no means disposed to fix his affections in conformity with the ambitious projects of the two uncles; for on the 16th of August, which is the latest date on which we have any allusion to this affair, Whyte tells Sir Robert Sidney, "My Lord Herbert is very well. I now hear little of that matter intended by 600 towards him; only I observe he makes very much of him, *but I don't find any disposition at all in this gallant young lord to marry.*"

This is all that can be collected from the letters of the gossiping and intriguing Rowland Whyte; and we have nothing of any under-plot which may have been going on. That some means may have been tried is to be regarded as necessary for the success of the scheme; for it would have been in vain for these politic heads to be laid together unless the young lord were brought into liking of the lady, and the lady into liking of my lord. It must be acknowledged that we know nothing of any particular arts which may have been used, or any thing of the actual state of mind of either Lord Herbert or the lady who was to honour him with her hand. All we know is, that, whatever engines may have been set in motion, and whatever schemes were devised, all ultimately failed; the gallant young lord had no disposition to marry: nor was it till four or five years after that he yoked himself to the car of Hymen, the lady whom he then married not being of the house of the Lord Ad-

miral, but one of the three rich coheiresses of Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury.

And now the question will probably arise—What had Shakespeare to do with all this, and indeed how could he become acquainted with circumstances in the transactions of these noble houses of so private and peculiar a nature as these: and, supposing that common rumour had brought to his knowledge that certain devices were used to bring about a union between these two noble persons, how would he dare to introduce upon the stage any thing that could even be construed by those who were acquainted with the circumstances as being even remotely connected with them? I answer, in the first place, that we have the most abundant evidence that, notwithstanding the great disparity of rank, Lord Herbert did admit the poet to a degree of intimacy, carried even to an extent beyond that which often exists between friends of equal rank. The proof lies in the volume of Shakespeare's Sonnets, of which *he*, Lord Herbert, "Mr. W. H.," as his real name and rank are obscurely indicated, was the "sole begetter," and which when rightly understood fully bear out the assertion of the player-editors of the folio, that the Lord Herbert, then addressed as Earl of Pembroke, had "prosecuted the author with so much favour."

I shall not enter here into the proof that the "Mr. W. H." who was the occasion of these sonnets being written, and the person to whom they were addressed, is Lord Herbert, deeming the point sufficiently proved by the two writers whose treatises are quoted at the foot of the page.* The previous

* *On the Sonnets of Shakespeare, identifying the person to whom they are addressed, and elucidating several points in the Poet's history.* By James Bouden, Esq. 8vo. 1837.

Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems. Being his Sonnets clearly developed, with his character, drawn chiefly from his Works. By Charles Armitage Brown. 12mo. 1838.

conjectures that the person was the poet's nephew, William Hart, who was a mere infant when the Sonnets were printed, Shakespeare's early patron, the Earl of Southampton, and even Queen Elizabeth, are too improbable to deserve examination, and the sooner they are dismissed from the public recollection the better for the reputation of those who proposed them: but the point may now be considered as determined; and no person will hereafter doubt that, however strange, in some respects, it may appear, the Sonnets relate to actual intercourse between Lord Herbert, in this the flower of his age, and William Shakespeare, and that they are a kind of poetical correspondence, not founded on circumstances merely imaginary, but arising out of events really occurring, and relations actually subsisting between them.

I was first taught this truth long before the public promulgation of it by other persons by whom it had also been discovered, by my lamented friend, Mr. B. H. Bright, who was remarkably sagacious in the finding out the secrets of literary history, and intimately acquainted with the whole range of Elizabethan literature. Nor with him was it a mere barren fact that the Sonnets were addressed to Lord Herbert; but from this fact he had, by a comparison of the Sonnets with other writings of other poets, and with events of the time, drawn the most curious conclusions, unveiling circumstances in the poet's relations to other persons of the time, highly interesting in themselves, and not, as I believe, mere matter of speculation and probability, but deserving, for the most part, to be admitted into the rank of authentic particulars of his life.

Now the Sonnets distinctly prove that a more than common degree of intimacy must have subsisted between the two persons who are parties to them: and, recurring to the

scheme of 1599 and 1600 for bringing about a marriage between Lord Herbert and the niece of the Lord Admiral, it is an extraordinary circumstance that in the first seventeen of the sonnets we should find Shakespeare engaged in urging this young nobleman to select some noble lady with whom to form a union in marriage. Whether, with Mr. Brown, we regard these seventeen sonnets as a continuous poem in the sonnet stanza, or as a series of detached sonnets, the import of them cannot be mistaken: we shall find the poet alluring his noble friend to enter into the married state, setting the advantage, propriety, and necessity of it, in such a variety of lights that, had we not so much reason to know that the Sonnets arose out of real relations, they might appear to be but sports of the imagination, ingenious attempts at shewing in what variety of terms the same subject might be treated, and the same idea presented.

A few passages must be quoted, that no hesitation on this part of the argument may mar the effect:

From fairest creatures we desire increase,
That thereby beauty's rose might never die;
But as the ripper should by time decrease
His tender heir might bear the memory:
But thou, contracted to thine own bright eyes,
Feed'st thy light's flame with self-substantial fuel,
Making a famine where abundance lies,
Thyself thy foe, to thy sweet self too cruel,
Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament
And only herald to the gaudy spring
Within thine own bud buriest thy content,
And, tender churl, mak'st waste in niggarding.

Again, in the third Sonnet:

Look in thy glass, and tell the face thou viewest,
Now is the time that face should form another;
Whose fresh repair if now thou not renewest,
Thou dost beguile the world, unless some mother,
For where is she so fair, whose nn-ear'd womb

Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?
 Or who is he so fond, will be the tomb
 Of his self-love to stop posterity?
 Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee
 Calls back the lovely April of her prime:
 So thou through windows of thine age shalt see,
 Despite of wrinkles, this thy golden time.
 But if thou live, remembered not to be,
 Die single, and thine image dies with thee.

In the ninth,

Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye,
 That thou consum'st thyself in single life?
 Ah, if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
 The world will wail thee, like a makeless wife;
 The world will be thy widow, and still weep,
 That thou no form of thee hast left behind,
 When every private widow well may keep,
 By children's eyes, her husband's shape in mind.

In the tenth the poet alludes to his friend's fixed determination against marriage, and appeals to him by his regard to the fortune of his noble house:

For thou art so possessed with murderous hate,
 That 'gainst thyself thou stick'st not to conspire:
 Seeking that beauteous roof to ruinate,
 Which to repair should be thy chief desire.
 O, change thy thought, that I may change my mind!

And again, using the same argument:

Who lets so fair house fall to decay,
 Which husbandry in honour might uphold,
 Against the stormy gusts of winter's day,
 And barren rage of death's eternal cold?
 O! none but anthrifts:—

It is impossible to mistake the purport of all this, however extraordinary it may appear that such poems should be addressed to a noble youth, and that while he was yet living they should be printed in a volume which was exposed to every purchaser. That volume, it may be observed, was printed in 1609, and is dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, under the

designation of "Mr. W. H.," apparently, therefore, with his consent and concurrence. And, comparing the fact that these sonnets were certainly addressed to Lord Herbert about the time, with the circumstance that one at least of his elder relations, Sir Robert Sidney, was earnestly desiring that he might take to wife a certain noble lady, it seems to be a reasonable deduction that there is some connection between the two facts, either that Shakespeare might be induced by the family of the young lord thus to address him, or that he might, of his own accord, seeing how fair a prospect was opened before him of alliance with a very powerful house, endeavour to make him properly sensible of it.

Mr. Bright, whose acquaintance with these Shakesperian mysteries was far more profound than any to which I can lay claim, was of opinion that these seventeen sonnets were connected with some other event in the life of Lord Herbert; but it cannot be doubted that they do correspond with the circumstances which we collect from the most authentic evidence, the letters of Whyte, and that there was no period of his life at which with more propriety could such a line as this have been addressed to him,

Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament.

Nor have we, that I know of, any such coincidence in any other known facts of his life, as the aversion which he appears to have expressed to matrimony according to the relation of Rowland Whyte, and the aversion which it was the purpose of Shakespeare in these seventeen sonnets to subdue.

We may now advance another step. Whatever means may have been tried by those who were bent on bringing about this alliance, they were, we know, without success:

"I don't find any disposition at all in this gallant young lord to marry." And when the whole affair was over, and whatever manœuvring might have been employed was become matter for mirth amongst those who were cognizant of it, rather than to be seriously thought of, then, as it seems, Shakespeare wrote this comedy, not wholly without the concurrence of the young lord himself, in which we have so amusing an exhibition of the arts and practices by which a young nobleman is brought into affection with a lady, his equal in birth, and she also with him, though at the beginning there was the most resolute determination against marriage on the part of both, and a particular objection to each other.

It is not intended to go the length of supposing that the artifices used in the case of Benedick and Beatrice resemble in the detail any thing which the plotters of real life may have devised, though Whyte appears to have been a man far from scrupulous in the use of means to secure an important object, and possessed of a fertile and ingenious brain; still less is it intended to intimate that the real action is reflected as in a glass in the scenes of the play: what I contend for is this: that the poet was cognizant of the design to bring about the union of his noble friend with a certain noble lady, and that out of this design arose the second plot of this play, those characters and incidents which are added by the English poet to the story of Hero as he found it in *Bandello*. Shakespeare, however, makes the scheme successful, which is the opposite of the result of any such scheming in the real story. This is as if Shakespeare had said:—Some ingenious devices have been tried and failed, I will shew you how such a design might have been carried out to a successful issue; and this he has done so skillfully that the whole has an air of being perfectly in nature.

It would, however, have been manifestly a great impropriety to have brought such an affair upon the stage so as to have made the real events the subject of vulgar comment, or even to have put it in the power of a mixed audience to have referred what they witnessed to any actual persons. Nor was this intended. While nothing could be more delightful to the public than the wit of Benedick and Beatrice, and the stratagems by which they were induced to change their resolves and to lay aside their antipathies, regarded merely as dramatic characters, there was a deeper pleasure to be given to Lord Herbert himself, and to other young noblemen, his friends, meaning especially the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, concerning whom we happen to know that they were at that particular time great frequenters of the theatre, in the comparison of what was presented on the stage with events that had recently occurred. I have said that the two earls, one of whom we know was an especial friend of Shakespeare, were at that precise time great frequenters of the theatre : we have it on the best authority. It is Whyte, who, in one of his letters to Sir Robert Sidney, dated in October, 1599, says of them that they "come not to court, but pass away the time in London merely in going to plays every day." No doubt those friends of the young lord in their private box, if private boxes there were in those days, would understand and applaud the wit in what Dr. Johnson regards the dull jest, when Beatrice, relenting, makes the confession,

For the letter that begins them all—H.

In writing thus, as it were, for two descriptions of persons at once, a dramatist has a difficult task. It was necessary that Shakespeare, in this case, should steer a middle course between leaving his hero absolutely without marks of in-

dividuality by which he might be recognized, and so clearly exhibiting him that an ordinary spectator would be able to refer the character to its original. This singular introduction of the letter H, here representing *ache* to the many, and *Herbert* to the few, is one of those marks of individuality: but I proceed next to observe that there will be found certain resemblances between the character of Benedick and the character of the Lord Herbert, not so striking as to be observed by the general, but which would serve as indications of the individual to those by whom Lord Herbert was intimately known.

Benedick is the representative of a gallant young English nobleman in the general features of the character; Benedick is resolute against matrimony, and we have seen that this was the state of mind of Lord Herbert. Benedick is rallied for his attempts in verse, and my Lord Herbert was a writer of songs, some of which are to be found in the music-books of the time, and were afterwards collected in a small volume. Benedick sings and dances, and our most valuable friend, Rowland Whyte, writes thus in October, 1600—"My Lord Herbert is practising at Greenwich; he leaps, he dances, he sings, he gives counter-buffs, he makes the horse run with more speed." Beatrice jokes on the military ardour of Benedick, "I pray you, is Signior Montanto returned from the wars?"—"How many hath he killed and eaten?" And Whyte says of Lord Herbert, that he "means to follow the camp," and again "he hath been away from court these seven days in London, swaggering it among the men of war, and viewing the manner of the musters." And again, in October, 1600, "My Lord Herbert will be all the next week at Greenwich to practise at tilt."

These signs would be vocal to the intelligent. The mul-

titude would see nothing in them but what appears on the surface ; but the young noblemen who frequented the theatres could not fail to recognise their gallant companion, in the man " of a noble strain, of approved valour, and confirmed honesty."

There are, it is probable, other points of resemblance, more than must necessarily arise out of the selection of a young nobleman of those times for a character in a drama, and more than it is probable will ever be discovered ; for no one can read the character attentively without perceiving in it strokes which indicate that it was drawn after some one living original. Beatrice, too, knew we the lady who, amongst the many nieces of the Lord Admiral, was the one to be preferred, might be found not without some traits of similitude to her.

I now leave this view of the origin of the most striking scenes of this comedy to the censure of the reader, and proceed to give some illustration of particular passages.

I. 1. BEATRICE.

He hath every month a new sworn brother.

This is one of the popular phrases of England to denote strict alliances and amities, and has survived the recollection of the circumstances in which the term arose. The *fratres conjurati* were persons linked together in small fellowships, perhaps not more than two, who undertook to defend and assist each other in a military expedition under the sanction of some stricter tie than that which binds the individuals composing a whole army to each other. They are found in genuine history, as well as in the romances of chivalry. Beatrice has an eye to the military character of Benedick (Lord Herbert).

I. 1. BENEDICK.

If I do, hang me in a bottle like a cat, and shoot at me, and he that hits me, let him be clapped on the shoulder, and called ADAM.

It is to be regretted that the books we have respecting archery, afford no certain illustration of this phrase : but that Theobald, who is followed in this by Steevens and Bishop Percy, is right in supposing that there is an allusion to *Adam Bell*, one of the outlaws and archers who figure in the popular minstrelsy of England, appears from the mention immediately before of the "ballad-maker's pen." Shakespeare has many allusions to the ballad-poetry of England, and has preserved stanzas of songs, of which no entire copy is known. There is an excellent old ballad on this Adam Bell, who is a genuine personage of history, which is printed by Percy.

The scene of Adam Bell's exploits was the forest of Inglewood, not far from Carlisle. Steevens says, "At what time he lived does not appear;" and Ritson, in his *Antient Popular Poetry*, "As there is no other memorial of this celebrated archer than this legend, any inquiry as to the time or reality of his existence must be little else than the sport of imagination." But I have had the good fortune to recover from a very authentic source of information some particulars of this hero of our popular minstrelsy, which shew distinctly the time at which he lived, and consequently fix a period before which the earliest ballad of which he is the subject cannot have been written, and which must also for ever prevent the ballad from being thrown into the class of those which are mere sports of imagination, or from being supposed, in these times when every thing that is good in England must be represented as brought from abroad, to be of foreign and not of native origin.

King Henry the Fourth, by letters, enrolled in the Ex-

chequer, in Trinity Term, in the seventh year of his reign, and bearing date the 14th day of April, granted to one *Adam Bell* an annuity of 4*l.* 10*s.*, issuing out of the fee-farm of Clipston, in the forest of Sherwood, together with the profits and advantages of the vesture and herbage of the garden called the Halgarth, in which the manor-house of Clipston is situated.

Now, as Sherwood is noted for its connection with archery and may be regarded also as the *patria* of much of the ballad poetry of England, and the name Adam Bell is a peculiar one, this might be almost of itself sufficient to shew that the ballad had a foundation in veritable history. But we further find that this Adam Bell violated his allegiance, by adhering to the Scots, the king's enemies; whereupon this grant was virtually resumed, and the sheriff of Nottinghamshire accounted for the rents which would have been his. In the third year of King Henry the Fifth the account was rendered by Thomas Hercy, and in the fourth year by Simon Leak. The mention of his adhesion to the Scots leads us to the Scottish border, and will not leave a doubt in the mind of the most sceptical that we have here one of the persons, some of whose deeds (with some poetical licence perhaps) are come down to us in the words of one of our popular ballads.

II. 1. BEATRICE.

That I was disdainful,—and that I had my good wit out of
THE HUNDRED MERRY TALES.

The question upon this passage has been whether there was in the time of Shakespeare a book known by the title of *The Hundred Merry Tales*, or whether it was not a *description* given of a book with some other title. It is now set at rest by the discovery which was made some years ago

by the late Mr. Conybeare of a fragment of a work which bore that title printed by Rastall. (*Boswell's Malone*, vii. 166.) A book, however, with that title, is too frequently spoken of by writers contemporary with Shakespeare to have rendered it necessary to go to Boccace or the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, when the phrase required rather some ordinary popular jest-book, well known to an English audience.

A book so entitled is named by Laneham and by Gabriel Harvey. It occurs again in an enumeration of books forming the reading of the common people, with Huon of Bourdeaux, Jack Drum, and many others, in Taylor's Introduction to his *Sir Gregory Nonsense, Works*, 1630, p. 150. And again, in 1584, in the Epistle Dedicatory before Dr. Meredith Hanmer's Translation of Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius. This passage is curious, and I know not that it has ever been cited in illustration of this subject, or as a contribution to the chapter in a work on English literature, which shall treat of that curious and, in some points of view, important subject, the books prepared in different ages for the amusement or the instruction of the less learned portions of society.

Many now a days had rather reade the *Diall of Princes*, where there is much good matter; the *Monke of Bury*, full of good stories; the *tales of Chaucer*; where there is excellent wit, great reading, and good decorum observed; the *life of Marcus Aurelius*, where there are many good morall precepts; the *familiar and golden epistles of Anthonie Guevarra*, where there is both golden wit and good penning; the stories of *king Arthur*; the monstrous fables of *Garagantua*; the *palace of pleasure*, though there follow never so much displeasure after; *Reinard the fox*; *Bevis of Hampton*; the *hundred merrie tales*; *Skoggan*; *Fortunatus*; with many other infortunate treatises and amorous toys, written in English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish; but as for books of divinitie, to edifie the soule and instruct the inward man, it is the least part of their care, nay, they will flatly answer, it belongeth not to their calling to occupie their heads with any such kind of matters. It is to be wished, if not all, at least wise that some part of the time that is spent in reading of such bookes (although many of them contain notable matter) were bestowed in reading of Holy Scripture, or other such writings as dispose the minde to spirituall contemplation.

More than half a century before this time we have another enumeration of books which then furnished much of the popular reading of the English nation from Ludovicus Vives, who, in his work on *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, addressed to Queen Katharine of Arragon, has a chapter on the books to be read, in which he recommends the Scriptures, the Fathers, Plato and Seneca, in the place of the popular books of his own country, Spain, *Amadis*, *Florisande*, *Tirante*, *Tristane*, and *Celestina*; those of France, *Lancelot du Lake*, *Paris and Vienna*, *Ponthus and Sidonia*, and *Melusine*; those of Flanders, *Flori and White Flower*, *Leonel and Canamour*, *Curisi and Florel*, *Piramus and Thisbe*; and those of England, *Parthenope*, *Genarides*, *Hippomedon*, *William and Melyour*, *Libius and Arthur*, *Guy*, *Bevis*, and, he adds, "many others;" together with some translated out of Latin, as the unsavoury conceits of Poggius and Æneas Silvius, *Euralus* and *Lucretia*.

Shakespeare no doubt knew *The Hundred Merry Tales* well, and was familiar with a popular literature of England of which fragments only have descended to our times.

Vives' work was translated by Richard Hyrde, and published in English in 1592.

II. 1. BEATRICE.

THUS GOES every one TO THE WORLD but I, and I am SUN-BURNED.

It is melancholy to see such a man as Dr. Johnson proposing that we should read "Thus goes every one to the wood, but I," when there are few phrases which are more decidedly unsophisticated English than *going to the world*, *tying oneself to the world*, to express entering on the cares and duties of the married life, just as the nun betaking herself to the cloister is said to *forsake the world*. But the phrase I am *sun-burned* requires more explanation, and I shall examine it at some length.

The only note upon it in the Variorum is one by Steevens, who says it means "I have lost my beauty, and am consequently no longer such an object as can tempt a man to marry." Mr. Collier explains it, "her beauty is damaged." But it does not appear that Beatrice had at any period so mean an opinion of her personal merits as to utter such a sentiment even to herself, and it is certain that she is not accustomed to speak in so pointless a manner. We have a right to expect that there shall be a just antithesis between the members of this sentence; and so there is when it is rightly understood, but not according to the present explication of it.

"To be in the sun," "to be in the warm sun," "to be sun-burned," were phrases not uncommon in the time of Shakespeare, and for a century later, to express the state of being without family connections, destitute of the comforts of domestic life. "To go to the world" was to be settled in a family; "to be sun-burned" was to remain sole, or, as the lively Beatrice further pleases to express herself, "to sit in a corner and cry heigh ho for a husband!"

There is an English proverb found in all the collections, "Out of God's blessing into the warm sun," where the latter clause expresses, it is evident, something to be deprecated, and particularly that of which I have spoken.

Thus Wither, when he delivers that pleasing account of his early life and studies, and speaks of having left his family in Hampshire and gone alone to London, says,

What do I mean to run
Out of God's blessing thus into the sun!
What comfort or what goodness here can I
Expect among these Anthropophagi?

ABUSES STRIPT AND WHIPT.

But the writings of Shakespeare himself may be quoted to shew the way in which the proverb was applied and under-

stood. When King Lear is turned out of house and home Kent says to him,

Good King, thou must approve the common saw,
Thou out of heaven's benediction com'st
To the warm sun. Act ii. Sc. 2.

And this seems to suggest the proper explanation of the passage in *Hamlet*, where, when the King asks

And now my cousin Hamlet and my son,
 How is it that the clouds still hang on you?

Hamlet replies—

Not so, my Lord, *I am too much i' th' sun.* Act i. Sc. 2.

I have lost father and mother: you heap upon me the terms "cousin" and "son," but I find myself forlorn, with none of the comforts remaining which arise out of the charities of kindred.

Thus it is, I conceive, that Beatrice, when the sense of loneliness was brought home to her by the approaching nuptials of her cousin, says that she is "sun-burned."

But if I am right in a conjecture concerning the origin of this proverb, and the phrases connected with it, there was a closer application in the expression "I am sun-burned" to the situation of Beatrice. My conjecture is, that at first it denoted the absence of family endearments in a more particular and confined application, and that in time it expanded so as to comprehend any and every kind of loneliness in respect of kindred. The state I mean is that of being without children.

It can hardly be supposed that in a northern latitude the *being in the sun*, or even the *being in a warm or burning sun*, would pass into current use among the people, associated with ideas of discomfort and destitution, unless there was some peculiar reason for it. The language of our own, and

of all northern nations, is formed upon a principle opposite to this: with warmth we associate ideas of comfort and protection, while cold is associated with the sufferings and the indigencies of life. Whence, then, arose this phrase, in which the connected ideas are inverted? I explain it thus:—the one hundred and twenty-first psalm, in which, in the Old English version, is found the passage, “So that the sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night,” is found in the earlier Rituals of the Church as part of the office for the Churching of Women, so that the matron surrounded by her husband and children was one who had received the benediction that *the sun should not burn her*, while the unmarried woman, who had received no such benediction, came to be spoken of by those who allowed themselves in such jocular expressions, as one “still left exposed to the burning of the sun,” or, as Beatrice says, “sun-burned.”

Such light, if not profane, allusions to any religious service are not, however, to be assumed without some kind of evidence, and I shall extend this note in order to shew that this is not a mere conjecture, but that there were actually certain ludicrous associations with this part of the Ritual. That our ancestors did allow themselves in such kind of familiar applications of passages in the public services of the Church, we may learn from Tyndal’s *Obedience of a Christain Man*, 1536, p. 107, where we find that the office of baptism was called familiarly “volowing,” from the frequent occurrence in it of the word *volo*, and it is even now not unusual to speak of children as “olive branches,” a phrase which has an origin precisely similar to that which belongs to *sun-burned*. And that something which was offensive to the serious and pious had gathered about this particular phrase appears from one of the Puritan objections to the service-book being “*The Churching of Women, with the Psalm that the*

Sun and Moon shall not burn them."* When the translation of the Scriptures was revised in the reign of James the First the verse was altered thus: "The sun shall not *smite* thee by day, nor the moon by night," probably on account of these ludicrous associations; but on the last revision of the Liturgy this Psalm was left out of the service altogether, and another substituted in its place, Bishop Sparrow, in his *Rationale on the Common Prayer*, p. 230, pointing to this verse as having been the reason of the change.

There is a canzonet in Herrick's *Hesperides*, entitled *The Old Wives' Prayer*, in which we have an allusion to this Psalm and the sun-burning clause of it which is far too familiar:

Holy Rood, come forth and shield
Us i' th' city and the field:
Safely guide us, now and aye,
From the blast that burns by day;
And those sounds that us affright
In the dead of dampish night.
Drive all hurtful fiends us fro
By the time the cocks first crow. Ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 249.

This is offered in elucidation of a phrase which, so far from having a basis in nature and experience, is so directly opposed to them that we are driven to seek for such an arbitrary association as this. According to my view of it, in its first and original use it denoted the state of being unmarried, or at least without children: this is the sense in which Beatrice uses it. It then expanded so as to include the state of those who were without family connections of any kind: in this sense it is used by Hamlet. It expanded still wider, and included the state of those who have no home: in this sense it is used by Kent. And it seems to have ex-

* See for this Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, Ellis's edition, 4to. 1813, vol. ii. p. 12; a work of infinite research and great value.

panded wider still, and to have been sometimes used for any species of destitution or distress or evil. Thus Wilson, in his *Arte of Rhetoric*, 4to. 1585 :

Undoubtedly the lawyer never dyeth a beggar ; and no marvalle. For an hundred begger for him, and make away all that they have, to get that of him, the which the oftener he bestoweth the more still he getteth. So that he gaineth always, as wel by increase of learning as by storing his purse with money ; whereas the other get a warm sun oftentimes, and a flap with a fox-tail for all that ever they have spent. And why would they ? Tush ! if it were to do againe they would do it : therefore the lawyer can never want living till the earth want men, and all be void." p. 38.

In any future edition of this play Beatrice will, we may hope, not be found disparaging her own personal charms. In brief, stripped of its popular phrase, what she says is this : " Thus every one finds her mate, and I am left in the world a solitary woman."

III. 1. HERO.

If black, why, Nature drawing of an ANTIC
Made a foul blot.

Antic was used in a variety of senses, but here it means a grotesque and distorted figure, such as were sometimes drawn in black on the white walls of country churches. The satirical spirit of Beatrice is not satisfied with the comparison of dark-complexioned men to figures such as these : Nature, drawing them, erred in her design, and produced an antic all blotted and blurred.

III. 4. MARGARET.

Get you some of this distilled Carduus Benedictus, and LAY IT TO YOUR HEART ; it is the only thing for a qualm.

The quotation in the notes respecting the *Carduus Benedictus* does not shew all the aptness of its introduction in this place : " Lay it to your heart," says Margaret. Now " the *Carduus Benedictus*, or the Blessed Thistle," says Parkinson, " is much used in the time of any infection or

plague, as also *to expel any evil symptom from the heart at all other times.*" (*Paradisus Terrestris*, 1629, p. 471.) "About the beginning of the year 1527 Luther fell suddenly sick of a congealing of blood *about his heart*, which almost killed him; but by the drinking of the water of *Carduus Benedictus*, whose virtues then were not so commonly known, he was perfectly helped." (*Abel Redivivus*, 4to. 1651, p. 44.) The scientific name was the *Atractylis Hirsuta*, and the French called it *Chardon Benoit*. The quotation from Logan shews that when he wrote, 1595, its virtues were then but lately become known in England, so that in 1600 we may suppose that it was in the height of its fashion. Googe, in his *Whole Art of Husbandry*, p. 180^b, speaks of its virtues, and much may be seen respecting it in *The Marrow of Surgery*, 4th edit. 1685, p. 272, by James Cooke, the same person who published the volume of medical cases from the papers of Dr. John Hall, Shakespeare's son-in-law.

IV. 1. BENEDICK.

How now! Interjections! Why then some be of laughing, as Ha, ha, he!

Shakespeare had been anticipated in this ludicrous mode of applying the language of the Grammar. It occurs in Lyly's *Endymion*, where Sir Tophes says "An interjection! whereof some are of mourning, as cho! vah!"

IV. 1. FRIAR.

And on your family's old monument
Hang mournful epitaphs.

Everything is admirable about this comedy. There is fine poetry in the scenes which serve as a *repose* after the excitement of the sprightly dialogues in which Beatrice and Benedick are the chief speakers. It appears that the great families in Italy had each its monument, not as in England, each principal individual of a family having a monument to him-

self. Thus there is the Scaliger monument at Verona; and the tomb of the Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet* seems to be a vault and monument for the whole race. It was the practice in England in Shakespeare's time, when we had more romantic customs than the English national character now tolerates, to hang copies of verses on the monuments of the dead, and to pin them to the cloth of the herse which were raised over the place where the body lay, and continued for twelve months. The often-quoted lines—

Underneath this sable herse, &c.

were written to be so hung, a beautiful tribute to the memory of the mother of Lord Herbert, of which we know not with any certainty the author.

IV. 1. PRIAR.

And doubt not but success
Will fashion the event in better shape
Than I can lay it down in likelihoood.

Success is here used in a very unusual sense, *that which is to come after*, without regard to its character, whether fortunate or the contrary.

LOVE LABOURS LOST.

It has escaped the notice of all the commentators and editors, old, middle, and new, that the story of this play is made to arise out of an event in the genuine history of the relations between the kings of France and Navarre.

The following passage will be found in the *Chronicles of Monstrelet*:

Charles King of Navarre came to Paris to wait on the King. He negotiated so successfully with the King and Privy Council that he obtained a gift of the castle of Nemours, with some of its dependent castle-wicks, which territory was made a duchy. He instantly did homage for it, and at the same time surrendered to the King the castle of Cherburgh, the county of Evreux, and all other lordships he possessed within the kingdom of France, renouncing all claims or profits in them to the King and to his successors, on condition that with the duchy of Nemours the King of France engaged to pay him two hundred thousand gold crowns of the coin of the King our Lord.*

The contract about the two hundred thousand crowns forms the link by which the story of this drama is connected with a real historical transaction. The poet, or the inventor of the story, whom the poet follows, represents Ferdinand, who is become King of Navarre by the death of Charles, who is called his father, which is at variance with history, challenging the payment of one half of this sum, and insinuating even (but the passage is a little obscure) that no part of the two hundred thousand crowns had been paid.

Madam, your father here doth intimate
The payment of a hundred thousand crowns;
Being but the one half of an entire sum
Disbursed by my father in his wars.
But say that he or we (as neither have)
Received that sum; yet there remains unpaid
A hundred thousand more,—Act ii. sc. 1.

* *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, &c.* translated by Thomas Johnes, Esquire, 8vo. 1810, vol. i. p. 108.

The claim is disputed on the part of France :

Boyet, you can produce acquittances
For such a sum from special officers
Of Charles his father.—Act ii. sc. 1.

and it is for the purpose of settling this disputed account that the Princess of France goes in embassy to the court of Navarre, whence arise all the pleasant embarrassments of the principal portion of the whole plot.

Whether such disputes did really occur, and whether there was ever any embassy either by a Princess (which is not likely to have been the case), or by any other person, for the purpose of composing them, is wholly immaterial; for suppose that the embassy was a part of genuine history, we soon drop all that is historical, and enter on what is only an agreeable fiction. It is sufficient to shew that the link exists; that, unlike in this to most of the romantic dramas, there is a little germ of historic truth in *Love Labours Lost*, just as there is in *Love Labours Won* or *The Tempest*, marking them as twin plays, whose originals are to be sought in one and the same volume; a book of romances, in which the stories are slightly connected with the real facts and personages of history.

The King of Navarre, to whom the King of France undertook to pay the two hundred thousand crowns, died in 1425, and, as the action of the play took place not long after, the time of it may be fixed to the year 1427, or very near that period.

And this leads to the remark that a proper decorum is kept in the names which are given to the principal characters in the play. They are those of persons or families who at that particular period were celebrated in French history, and it seems even that whoever devised the story, and gave these names to persons who appear in it, had looked in the Chronicles

of Monstrelet. Thus the lord of *Longueval*, *Longavil*, is named by that Chronicler as a French nobleman who was active against the English during the regency of the Duke of Bedford. John de *Beauraine* also occurs, whose name we have in the *Berowne* of the play, which did not become *Biron*, as we now have it, till the appearance of the second folio in 1632. *Dumain* may seem to be modelled on *Dunois*, and *Boyet* on *Boys*, both eminent names in the history of the French wars of that age. *Perigort* and *Alençon* of course are well-known titles, and, though *Jacques Falconbridge* has an English air, there was a French Count de *Fauquenburgh* who was slain at Agincourt. Whether this propriety was Shakespeare's own, or he took the names as he found them, must remain undetermined till the happy day when the volume which contains the original stories on which he wrought in this play and in *The Tempest* shall be brought forth from its hiding-place.

The *name* of this play has been variously represented by the original editors and by those of later date; nor are the variations immaterial, since there is a different *meaning* in every one of the various forms in which we find it. In the title-page of the first quarto it is *Loues Labors lost*, while in the running-title it is *Loues Labor's lost*. The latter of these is the title in both the folios. Meres gives it *Love labours lost*, and this, which approaches very near to the title in front of the first quarto, is probably that by which the author intended it should be called. And this for several reasons; first, it has the true Shakesperian flow, running trippingly on the tongue, as all his titles do. Secondly, it suits better than any other the point in the drama to which, however we read it, the title must be supposed to refer:

I thank you, gracious lords,
For all your fair *endeavours*.—Act v. sc. 1.

that is, the efforts which the King and the three gay bachelors had made to entertain the Princess and her ladies, which were all frustrated, *lost*, by the unexpected intelligence of the death of the Princess's father. And, finally, the title in this simplest form alone admits of having as its counterpart the title given to another play, *Love Labours Won*. Of all the forms the halting title *Love's Labour's Lost*, adopted by Mr. Malone, Mr. Collier, and others, is the worst.

Perhaps the most perfect form in which the title could be exhibited would be by the introduction of an hyphen, *Love-Labours Lost*.

We may assume with confidence that *Love Labours Lost* preceded *Love Labours Won*; wherefore, if the reasoning in the remarks on *The Tempest* leads to a just conclusion, this play was written before 1596. Indeed, it has many marks of being an early work, before the great poet had taken his own standing, and framed his romantic dramas in the style of which *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *As You Like It*, are such exquisite specimens. The first known date respecting it is that it was performed before Queen Elizabeth, with some omissions we may hope, at Christmas 1597.

It appears to have been the frequent practice of Shakespeare in the preparation of the romantic dramas, while he took a story from some printed book for the main plot, to introduce an underplot which was wholly of his own invention. In the *Much Ado* all respecting Benedick and Beatrice is his; in *The Tempest* Stephano and Trinculo are doubtless his own; and in *As You Like It* Touchstone and Audrey; and in the play before us, in Holofernes, Nathaniel, Moth, Costard, Dull, and Jaquenetta, we have a group of very entertaining persons, to whom suitable action is assigned, of whom it will hardly be doubted that they are the pure creation of the mind of Shakespeare. They are too *English* to be found in any

foreign romance. It is perhaps the greatest defect in the structure of the play that they are not more intimately connected with the more important business of the piece. It is also, when speaking of the defects, (as those must who desire the expression of their devotion to be regarded as sincere and discriminated,) a very serious disappointment to find that there is no fulfilment of the promise given near the beginning of the play, in the following lines :

This child of fancy that Armado hight,
For interim to our studies, shall relate
In high-born words the worth of many a knight,
From tawny Spain, lost in the world's debate.—Act i. sc. 1.

Here is a beautiful promise, but where is the fulfilment of it ? The words fill the mind with images of chivalry, the fields of Roncesvalles and Fontarrabia, peculiarly appropriate in a story of Navarre. Bishop Warburton, who in due time will recover his station as one of the most sagacious, as well as most profoundly learned, of the critics who have employed themselves on these writings, seems to have explained rightly the last clause "lost in the world's debate" by referring it to the contest between the Christians and the Saracens, the great "debate" of the civilized world. Modern editors leave this really difficult or uncertain expression, without affording any assistance to readers, many of whom must here want it, if they desire to understand as well as read. Even the few words of Warburton are not preserved.

The non-fulfilment of the expectation which these words raise is one proof that in this play Shakespeare was working on a story formed for him, not inventing one for himself ; and this is further proved, so that there can be no doubt in the world about it, by the long speech of Ferdinand, in which the poet endeavours to express in verse what is more befitting for prose—the intractable matter of a money account.

Holofernes is the pedantic schoolmaster. We have had a similar character before: it is a great favourite of the Italian dramatists, from whom it was probably borrowed; but in Holofernes there is this peculiarity, that, besides being learned in the ancient languages, he is master of the modern languages also. He is represented as being very affected, both in his mode of speaking and in what he says, and altogether it has been thought, and the opinion has been maintained by no less celebrated critics than Warburton and Farmer, that he is the representative of the great schoolmaster of the time for the modern languages, John Florio, the translator of Montaigne. Florio has undoubtedly many expressions in his Prefaces and Dedications, in which he speaks in his own person, that are open to ridicule, or, to speak more plainly, that are eminently ridiculous; but it seems only justice to a man to whom the English nation are greatly indebted for fostering a taste for the language and literature of countries that were in advance of ourselves, to observe that, so far as light can be obtained into the character of Florio, if he is shadowed forth in Holofernes, or even if the character which Holofernes gives of Armado* when united with that of Holofernes himself be intended to represent Florio, it must be regarded as an extravagant caricature.

I will place at the end of the remarks on this play some account of Florio, including some particulars not hitherto published, which may assist the reader in forming an opinion on this very doubtful question. That Shakespeare introduced a person who was living at the time in the pay

* "His humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, and thronical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were too peregrinate, as I may call it. He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." Act v. Sc. 1.

and patronage of the Earl of Southampton in any spirit of contempt, or for the purpose of exposing him to the laughter of a company of barren spectators, is not probable.

If I were disposed to defend the position taken by the two eminent critics just mentioned, I should press into the service a passage in the second scene of the first Act, regarding Holofernes and Armado as being jointly John Florio :

ARMADO.—I know where it is situate.

JAQUENETTA.—Lord ! how wise you are !

ARMADO.—I will tell thee wonders.

JAQUENETTA.—*With that face.*

It may be that the last words of Jaquenetta are, as Steevens says they are, but a cant phrase ; but it may be remembered that in the passage quoted in the remarks on *The Tempest* from the Essays of Sir William Cornwallis there is an allusion to something that was peculiar in the personal appearance of Florio, "a fellow less beholding to nature for his fortune than wit, yet *lesser for his face than his fortune.* The truth is, he looks more like a good fellow than a wise man ; and yet he is wise beyond either his fortune or education." *

* There is an engraved portrait by Hole of Florio in the second edition of his Italian Dictionary, as a dictionary a work of great merit, but abounding also in remarkable English words and phrases, and a very curious middle-age knowledge. It represents him in his fifty-eighth year, and we perceive nothing in it which can be supposed to justify the remark of Cornwallis. There was a painting of him, supposed to be by Daniel Mytens, in the possession of the Dorset family ; but it has been lost, or perhaps regarded as representing some one else, no such portrait being mentioned in any modern list of their paintings. Yet that they had once such a portrait appears from the Common-Place Book of Charles Earl of Dorset, the patron of Dryden, now among the Harleian Manuscripts (No. 4636) " 'Tis thought Michens, painter to King James, drew the picture of Florio which we have."

This Manuscript, which contains much of the private thoughts of the Earl of Dorset, as well as many passages extracted by him from the authors whom he read, has attracted no attention, perhaps on account of its standing in the Catalogue without any intimation of the eminent person whose book it was. A few of the observations contained in it follow :

Florio was of Italian extraction, and we have another Italian, a man well known in London, alluded to by the name he was usually called, in this play—*Monarcho*. The commentators have left unnoticed a passage in a contemporary writer which appears to give a clearer idea of this person than the passages which they have produced. It occurs in

"None ever made this saying of Cicero's good so well as Shakespear, that *Ingenii bonitas sæpe imitatur doctrinam*. Cic. l. 3 ad Hor."

"If the people will have liberty of conscience (as no doubt they ought to have), then, in consideration of the bloody effects which diversity of opinion has produced, the people must be contented that at their charge such a force be maintained that may keep them quiet whose active spirits may make them dangerous to the public."

"Sir Henry Herbert, in a trial he had with my father to prove the antiquity of the Master of Revels' office, produced a very old man, who deposed that a long time since a small company of players represented a cobbler and his daughter upon the stage. The cobbler complained in the Star Chamber; the Master of the Revels for licensing this was fined and put out of his office, and the players whipped."

"We are seldom improved by occasional writings, for interest or faction do so byas the authors that we cannot believe them, even in what appears most near the truth."

"All great men love the virtues in others which they possess themselves: the truly valiant love the brave. 'Tis the pretender that is detracting and envious."

"Pastor Fido, which the Italians give as their most perfect piece of drama, is full of persons."

"I have heard Mr. Powle say that Sir John Holborn penned the declaration of 12 Aug. '42. It is penned with the greatest judgment, art, and strength of reason, and with the most moderation of any set out in those times, confessing what was really amiss in the former managing the Government."

"Players for their insolent behaviour banished Italy by Tiberins. Tac. iv. p. 112."

In one place the Earl quotes, as if he was struck with its sense or beauty, the following lines from Jonson's *Sejanus*:

"The way to put
A Prince in blood is to present the shapes
Of dangers greater than they are (like late
Or early shadows), and sometimes to feign
Where there are none, only to make him fear:
His fears will make him cruel."

The Discovery of Witchcraft by Reginald Scot, a book very seasonably published, and of most admirable sense:—"Thrasibulus, otherwise called Thrasillus, being sore oppressed with this melancholic humour, imagined that all the ships which arrived at Port Piræus were his, insomuch as he would number them, and command the mariners to launch, &c., triumphing at their safe returns, and mourning for their misfortunes. The Italian whom we called here in England *the Monarch*, was possessed with the like spirit or conceit." Book III. ch. 9.

The mind of Shakespeare, when he was engaged on this play, was full of recollections of schools and school-keeping. He talks of a "text B.;" and to this is to be referred the "Honorificabilitudinitatibus" of Costard. This Dr. Johnson calls a *word*, and says that "it is the longest word known." This is a very extraordinary hallucination of a mind so accustomed to definition as his was, and so apt to form definitions eminently just and proper. *Word*, when properly understood, belongs only to a combination of letters that is significative; but this is a mere arbitrary and unmeaning combination of syllables, and devised merely to serve as an exercise in penmanship, a schoolmaster's copy for persons learning to write. It is of some antiquity. I have seen it on an Exchequer record, apparently in a hand of the reign of Henry the Sixth; and it may be seen, with some additional syllables, scribbled on one of the leaves of a manuscript in the Harleian Library, No. 6,113. It is even still in use. When the custom of using superlatives in the style of very eminent persons, or in speaking of them, was introduced into England, there were words in use almost vying with this combination of syllables, which, thus embalmed in Shakespeare, will never perish. Thus, the

Countess of Richmond was *insignissimam et honorabilissimam personam* :* and to Wolsey one writes as *honorificentissimo domino Thomæ Lincoln. præsulî*. In the styles of our kings and the younger branches of the royal family these superlatives appear to have been first used in the reign of King Henry the Fourth. *Illustris*, while living, and *bonæ memoriæ*, when dead, was the more modest style of our earlier princes.

Amongst the many allusions, real or supposed, in this play, to the events and persons of the time, may be noticed the mention of the Dancing Horse, exhibited by a person named Banks. Quite enough has been done for the illustration of this subject: and I shall content myself with referring, without quoting, to two other nearly contemporary notices, to be found in the Epigrams of Sir John Harington,† and in Sandys' Travels, where it is said that the people of Egypt had the art of teaching asses to do more extraordinary things than any performed by Banks's horse.‡

We proceed to remark on a few particular passages.

I. 1. KING.

Our court shall be a little ACADEME.

This was no affected word, nor was it thus written for the sake of the metre. It was the usual form of the word now written and pronounced *academy*. When Bolton had devised the scheme for the association of men eminent in literature and art, to which I have before alluded, he called it the Academe Royal.

* *Funeral Sermon for Margaret Countess of Richmond*, edited by J. Hy-mers, B.D. 8vo. 1840. Preface.

† Book iii. Epig. 31.

‡ P. 38. A daughter of Banks became the wife of John Hyde, of Urmston, in Lancashire, of an ancient family in that county. She is described in the Lancashire pedigrees as "daughter of . . . Banks, who kept the horse with the admirable tricks."

I. 1. KING.

Subscribe to your deep OATH and keep it too.

This is Mr. Malone's text: who remarks that "the old copies have—*oaths*. Corrected by Mr. Steevens." Mr. Collier's reading is,

Subscribe to your deep *oaths* and keep it too.

All wrong, and for the same reason—neglect of the folio of 1632, or from not having observed the reading there given,

Subscribe to your deep *oaths* and keep *them* too.

And that this is the true reading appears plainly by comparison with a line a little before,

Your oaths are passed, and now subscribe your names.

The folio of 1632 contains so many admirable corrections of the text of these plays, as first printed, that it may claim to be taken as of equal, if not superior, authority to the editions which preceded it. At least it may claim for its readings an equal share of attention, and the modern editor has to judge amongst them, and decide which is most worthy of a place in a modern text.

II. 1.

PRINCESS.—

Know you the man?

MARIA.—I know him, madam: at a marriage feast,
Between Lord Perigot and the beauteous heir
Of Jaques Falconbridge, solemnized
In Normandy, saw I this Longaville.

This is Mr. Collier's text, differing very little from that of Malone, and still less from that of Mr. Knight. I by no means profess to introduce all such corrections of the modern text, whether those of the editors of the middle period or of more recent editions; but for the honour of

Shakespeare let it not be thought that he made Maria speak in this undramatic manner. See what he really wrote, and how much we lose by the misapprehensions of those who profess to give us new and amended texts—

I knew him, madam, at a marriage feast
Between Lord Perigort and the beauteous heir
Of Jaques Fauconbridge solemnized.
In Normandy saw I this Longaville.

This is the reading and punctuation of the second folio, having all the graceful ease we so much admire in Shakespeare, that colloquial flow which is proper to dramatic writing, where we do not look for the formal language which befits the orator, historian, or epic poet. It is the reading also of the other early copies, except that in them there is an error of the press in the word "knew," which is printed "know;" and that this reading is really no more than an error of the printer is manifest by the insertion of a period, in all the copies, at the close of the third line, which could not have been there if "know" and not "knew" had been the true reading. It may be added that this is another proof of the value of the folio of 1632; and also that we are still without a reasonably good text of Shakespeare.

II. 1. MARIA.

My lips are no common though ~~several~~ they be.

There has been much annotation on this line, but the true explanation of the term "several" has not, I think, been given. *Severals*, or *several lands*, are portions of common assigned for a term to a particular proprietor, the other commoners waiving for the time their right of common over them. And it will be seen that Shakespeare was well aware of this its just meaning.

BOYET.—No sheep, sweet lamb, unless we feed on your lips.

MARIA.—You sheep, and I pasture; shall that finish the jest?

BOYET.—So you grant pasture for me. (*Offering to kiss her.*)

MARIA.— Not so, gentle beast;
My lips are no common, though several they be.

“Several,” as *parted*: Boyet catches at the other meaning of “several,” in its relation to “common,” as expressing that which is appropriated, and he asks,

BOYET.—Belonging to whom?

MARIA.— To my fortunes and me.

III. 1. MOTH.

CONCOLINEL.

In the absence of any thing like sufficient explanation or justification of this word, if word it is, I will venture to suggest the possibility that it is a corruption of a stage direction, *Cantat Ital.*, for *Cantat Italicé*; meaning that here Moth sings an Italian song. “It is quite evident, from what Armado says, when the song was ended,—“Sweet air!”—that a song of some sort was sung, and one which Shakespeare was pleased with, and meant to praise. If Moth’s song had been an English song it would have been found in its place, as the other songs are.

IV. I. PRINCESS.

Now, Mercy goes to kill,
And shooting well is then accounted ill.

Mercy should perhaps be printed thus: “Mercy,” but certainly with a capital letter, as it is in the old copies.

Little has ever been said in praise of the scene at the Stand in the Park of the King of Navarre, or of the peculiar humour of the part which the Princess sustains in the dialogue, which may excuse a note of some extent. The ladies are represented as having resorted to the park, for the purpose of shooting at the deer with the cross-bow.

This was a favourite amusement of ladies of rank in the time of Shakespeare, and buildings with flat roofs called stands, or standings, were erected in many parks, as in that of Sheffield, and in that of Pilkington, near Manchester, expressly for the purpose of this diversion. They were often made ornamental, as we may conclude from the following passage in Goldingham's poem, called *The Garden Plot*, when, speaking of a bower, he compares it with one of these stands—

To term it Heaven I think were little sin,
Or Paradise, for so it did appear ;
So far it passed the bowers that men do banquet in,
Or standing made to shoot at stately deer.

The Princess proposes at first to shoot concealed in a bush ; but the forester conducts her to one of these stands, which would no doubt form a pleasing scene on the stage :

Here by, upon the edge of yonder coppice,
[Is] a stand where you may make the fairest shoot.

In a sportive humour, the Princess chuses to understand this as if the forester had intended to pay a compliment to her fair complexion ; when the poor confused countryman, unable to extricate himself by any happy turn, only plunges deeper by assuring the Princess that he meant no such compliment ; nothing that would have implied so unbecoming a liberty. The Princess will amuse herself again with his simplicity, and she again affects to misunderstand him, as if by retracting the compliment he had insinuated that which was at variance with his former compliment. "Not fair? alack for woe!" The perplexed rustic, not aware of the turn of which his words admitted, humbly replies ; "Yes, madam, fair." Still the Princess will amuse her companions more with the confusion of the Forester,

Nay, never paint me now ;
 Where fair is not, praise cannot mend the brow :
 Here, good my glass, take this for telling true :
 Fair payment for foul words is more than due.

While saying this she slips money into his hand. The abashed forester, who had meant nothing less than to have become the lady's looking-glass to reflect any thing but what was agreeable, repeats his assurance that he had the most exalted opinion of her perfections, "Nothing but fair is that which you inherit." When the Princess affects again to misunderstand him, and she now attributes the compliment paid to her to the gratuity she had just bestowed upon him, as if it were purchased by her :

See, see, my beauty will be saved by merit:

where "merit" is used in its theological sense, as acts of charity were by some spoken of as meritorious, efficacious to salvation. All this may be thought so clear as not to require these illustrative remarks, but it is evident by the note that Dr. Johnson had not a just conception of the sense of the passage: and it may not be equally clear that we have a continuation of the theological allusion in what follows :

Now Mercy goes to kill.

Where "Mercy" is a kind of personification. "Now Mercy goes to kill;" that is, I, in whom Mercy, a form of charity, has been so eminently displayed that it has actually *saved* my beauty, am now going to commit acts of slaughter on these poor innocent deer. We have now done with the Forester, and we have some of Shakespeare's kindest philosophy in the remainder of the Princess's speech. If she misses in the shooting, it is that pity moved her; if she wounds, being, as she is, Mercy personified, it is not to

pain the sufferer, but to gain praise and glory for herself, on which Shakespeare builds this just general observation, with which he winds up the scene,

And out of question, so it is sometimes,
 Glory grows guilty of detested crimes ;
 When for Fame's sake—for praise—an outward part—
 We bend to that the working of the heart.

IV. 1. BOYET.

It is writ to Jaquenetta.

These words should be printed thus—"It is writ to—Jaquenetta."

Scarcely any instance of misjudgment can be found in any of the editions of Shakespeare greater than that which represents what is really a postscript to Armado's letter, beginning,

Thus dost thou hear the Nemean lion roar,

as if it were a comment of Boyet's upon the letter. It is evident, first, that it is in the Armado vein: and next, that it refers to what he had written in the body of the letter:—"Shall I command thy love? I may. Shall I enforce thy love? I could." Mr. Collier, with better judgment, prints the lines as a part of the letter.

IV. 3. BIRON.

When shall you see me write a thing in rhyme?
 Or GROAN FOR JOAN? or spend a minute's time
 In pruning me? When shall your hear that I
 Will praise a hand, a foot, a face, an eye, &c.

Mr. Collier has ventured upon a very bold substitution in this passage. Instead of "groan for Joan," he reads "groan for love," and he puts this change forward as one of the reasons for a new edition of the works of Shakespeare. It is not a conjectural emendation, but is arrived at by being found in

a copy of the first quarto, 1598, in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection, while the copy of the same edition in Lord Francis Egerton's Collection has the common reading which is found in the folios, and in all modern editions. Mr. Collier infers from this difference in two copies of the same edition the advantage of having the opportunity of collating different copies of the quarto editions, which would be good were there many substantial variations like this, but I suspect they would be found to be most exceedingly few.

It is obvious, however, that a new reading at which we arrive in this manner need not necessarily be the true reading; because it is equally probable that either of the readings may be the first or be the second; and because a correction made while the process of printing is actually being performed would probably be made by the pressman only, whose form had been by some accident disturbed. In the present case *Jone* or *Loue* may either of them be the first or be the second reading, and there are no means by which we can determine the reading which it was meant by the author should be received, from a mere comparison of the two: that is, *Jone* might be the reading while the earlier impressions were being worked off, and then for some reason *Loue* substituted; or *Loue* might be the first reading, and then for some undiscoverable reason *Jone* be substituted.

The question, therefore, at last is only like the question which arises on so many passages in the plays where early authorities present different readings, from among which taste and judgment have to make a selection: but with this difference, that in the present case the weight of the authority of the old copies is in favour of the received text; all, quartos and folios, agreeing in *Jone*, or, as in most of them, *Joane*, with the single exception of a copy of the first edition, which, unlike two other known copies of that edi-

tion, has *Loue*. Furthermore, in the folios and second quarto it is printed *Joane*, in the italic letter. Nor can I think that an editor is justified in making so violent a change on such slight grounds, when we remember what sort of character Biron the speaker is, full of jokes and cranks of all kinds, a "merry man;" that this is sprightly colloquialism, not set speech, in which something may be left to the actor; and that Biron may be reasonably supposed to refer to the couplet with which the third act closes:

Well, I will love, write, sigh, pray, sue, and groan;
Some men must love my lady, and some Joan.

FLORIO.—The religious excitement of the sixteenth century drove the Florios to England. In 1550 or 1551 an Italian Protestant Church was established in London, under the special patronage of Cecil and Cranmer, of which John a Lasco was appointed superintendent, and Michael Angelo Florio the preacher.* Strype adds that this Florio was a Florentine by birth, and probably brother or near kinsman of Simon Florio, an eminent preacher in the town of Chiavenne. M. A. Florio did not retain his situation long. There were great disputings in the new-formed church. He was charged with gross immoralities, and the whole issued in his separation from the church, and his banishment from the house of Cecil, in which it appears he for some time resided.†

* Strype's *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, 8vo. Edit. vol. i. p. 343.

† *Ibid.* App. 53, 54; and compare *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 377, and *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 160.

There is every probability that M. A. Florio was the father of John : for when he was removed from his office of preacher he became a teacher of the Italian language in London, a profession afterwards of John, and he was introduced to the family of Herbert, with whom, as we shall see, John was also connected. Both these facts appear from a MS. book in the University Library at Cambridge, entitled *Regole de la Langue Thoscana*, which is dedicated by its author, M. A. Florio, to "Signore Arrigo Herbert," which must be Henry Herbert, son and heir apparent of William the first Earl of Pembroke, and himself afterwards the second Earl. This dedication is dated at London, August 21, 1553, and he makes this addition to his name, "Fiorentino," thus confirming the report of Strype respecting the part of Italy from whence he came. M. A. Florio was also the author of a *Life of Lady Jane Grey*, written in Italian, not printed till 1607, long after his death.

Wood says that John Florio was born in London, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The latter part of this information must be mistaken, unless there is an error in the inscription on his engraved portrait, which tells us that he was aged 57 in 1611. This would make the time of his birth 1553 or 1554. He further says that on the accession of Queen Mary the parents of Florio left England, so that he had his early education abroad, and that on the accession of Queen Elizabeth the family returned to England. It seems, however, that we know nothing with certainty concerning him till 1576, when he was two or three and twenty, and, as Wood informs us, was living at Oxford, in attendance on Emmanuel Barnes, a son of the Bishop of Durham. He had afterwards, according to Wood, other pupils in the University, and was himself matriculated of Magdalene College in 1581.

It was while at Oxford that he began to write for the press. It is "from his lodgings in Worcester Place, 1578," that he dedicates to the Earl of Leicester his earliest production, which he entitled *First Fruits*, a phrase-book in Italian and English, with an introduction to the knowledge of those tongues. His next publication is a Translation of Ramuzio's Narrative of the Voyage then lately made to New France. This work he undertook at the request of his friend, Mr. H. Leigh; and he dedicates it from Oxford, June 25, 1580, to Edmund Bray, Esq., then High Sheriff of Oxfordshire.

In 1582 he was still residing at Oxford, for in that year, November 12, he inscribed to Sir Edward Dyer, from Oxford, a volume containing a large collection of Italian Proverbs, which he entitled *Giardino di Recreatione*. It does not appear that this work was ever printed: but a fair copy of it in Florio's own beautiful penmanship, with commendatory verses prefixed from Matthew Gwinne, Samuel Daniel, and two other friends, and every other preparation for the press, was in the hands of Oldys, and afterwards of Sir Isaac Heard, from whom it passed to Mr. B. H. Bright, and was sold in the sale of his manuscripts, on June 18, 1844.

In the catalogue of the library of Mr. Brand, appears *News from Rome*, London, 1585, which is there said to be Florio's, but I know of no other proof of its existence. In 1591 appeared his *Second Fruits*.

It could not be long after this date that he was taken "into the pay and patronage" of the Earl of Southampton, a fact in his history which he mentions in the dedication of a work of much greater importance and value than any of those already mentioned, namely, an Italian and English Dictionary, which appeared in a small folio volume in 1598. It is dedicated in a style more verbose and pedantic than

was usual even in that age of high-flying dedication, "To the Right Honourable patrons of virtue, patterns of honour, Roger Earl of Rutland, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Lucy Countess of Bedford:" and this dedication is followed by an epistle to the reader, from which we collect that he had been very roughly treated by certain literary antagonists, and particularly by one H. S., * whom he abuses in a strain which may truly be represented as thrasonical, rough, and ridiculous. It is upon this epistle that the opinion respecting him is chiefly founded which led Warburton and Farmer to the belief that he was in the mind of Shakespeare when he drew the character of Holofernes: and this, not only because in the epistle we find him writing in a round-about style of invective, but because he speaks as if he had been himself actually introduced by the actors on the stage: "Let Aristophanes and his comedians make plays, and scour their mouths on Socrates; those very mouths they make to vilify shall be the means to amplify his virtue," &c. He concludes this epistle with the words, "Meanwhile I wish to thee as of me thou shalt deserve, and wish of thee as I know of thee I have deserved; *Resolute John Florio.*" In whatever respect we may hold him for his services to literature and to England, it cannot be denied that writing such as this was likely to expose him to ridicule, and might even provoke a dramatist to descend to personal satire.

In 1603 appeared his translation of Montaigne, in a large folio volume, which had been begun by him long before, and as is probable had been used by him in his intercourse with his pupils. In the numerous dedications and other introductory matter the same Armado style is apparent which we find in the Dictionary; even the title-page over-

* Can this be Henry Salisbury, author of a Welsh Dictionary, which he dedicated to Henry Earl of Pembroke?

flows, and is continued on the verso of the leaf, "done into English by him that hath inviolably vowed his labours to the eternity of their honours whose names he hath severally inscribed on these his consecrated altars." There is far more of Armado than of Holofernes here, if we must believe that Shakespeare thought of him when he wrote this play. Below are placed the representation of five altars, inscribed with the names of five noble ladies, Lucy Countess of Bedford, Lady Ann Harrington, Lady Penelope Rich, Lady Elizabeth Grey, and Lady Mary Nevil. It appears that he had received countenance and favour from all these noble families. What he says of the house of Russell may serve as a specimen of his manner:—"Your noblest earl's beneficence, prerunning all in courtesy as pedigree, and bearing not only in his heart and hand, but even in aspect and due respect, the native magnanimity of Bedford and magnificent frank nature of the Russells, hath so kindly bedewed my earth when it was sun-burnt, so gently thawed it when it was frost-bound, as (were there any good in me) I were more senseless than earth if I returned not some fruit in good measure." From an address to the reader we collect the fact, that so popular were the *Essays of Montaigne* as soon as they appeared that seven or eight persons of great wit and worth had attempted to translate them into English, and failed.

In the arrangements of the new court on the death of Queen Elizabeth the claims of Florio to some share of public patronage were admitted. He was appointed to an office, created for the purpose, which was one more of honour than of burthensome duty, being named Reader in Italian to the Queen, and one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, with a salary of £100 per annum. Samuel Daniel, the poet, to whom he is believed to have stood in the relation

of brother-in-law,* received at nearly the same time the appointment of Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards of one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber. The appointment of Florio was by letters patent, dated August 5, 1604.

It does not appear that he published any new work in this reign: but in 1611 appeared a greatly enlarged edition of his Italian and English Dictionary, to which he now gave the title of *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. With this he also gave an introduction to the knowledge of the Italian language.

In 1610 John Healey dedicated to him *Epictetus his Manual and Cebes his Tables translated out of the Greek*.

From this time till his death, in August or September 1625, we know little respecting him except what can be collected from his will, a striking and affecting document, all written by his own hand. It appears that even court favour, and the honourable and lucrative appointment which he held, had not been sufficient to secure him from embarrassments, and even it may be said from poverty. The language of the author of the *Athenæ* would lead us to suppose

* Wood says that Florio married the sister of Daniel, but he gives no authority. The verses of Daniel before the Montaigne are inscribed only, "To my dear friend, Mr. John Florio;" but in the verses before the second edition of the dictionary he addresses him as "brother." It is remarkable that there is no notice of any such connexion in the will of either Florio or Daniel.

Of the will of Florio I shall speak in the text. That of Daniel was made in his last sickness. It is dated on the 4th of September, 1619, and he died in October, the precise day seeming to have been forgotten when the Countess of Pemhroke, Dorset, and Montgomery placed a monument to his memory in the church of Beckington, in Somersetshire, where he lies interred. It has his bust, and resembles, in most respects, the monument of Drayton in Westminster Abbey. Daniel died at Ridge, a hamlet in the parish of Beckington, leaving all his property to his brother, John Daniel, except a bed with its furniture and certain linen to his sister, Susan Bower, and trifling legacies of money to others of the Bowers. He makes his brother executor, and his brother-in-law, John Phillips, with Simon Waterson, the stationer, overseers. Such was the last act of "well-linguaged Daniel."

that his death, at Fulham, was only in consequence of his having retired thither to avoid the plague then raging in London: but this was not the case. Fulham was his ordinary place of residence, as appears by his will, and had been so at least from 1620, when he was certainly residing there. The early registers of Fulham are lost.

In his will he describes himself as "John Florio, of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire," and begins in a strain of more than usual solemnity to declare that this testament contains his "last, direct, and unrevocable will and intention." His body is to be buried in such decent order as to his wife and his executors shall seem meet. He then proceeds thus:—"I give to my daughter, Aurelia Molins, the wedding-ring wherewith I married her mother, being aggrieved at my very heart that by reason of my poverty I am not able to leave her anything else. To my son-in-law, James Molins, a fair black velvet desk, embroidered with seed pearls, and with a silver and gilt ink-horn and dust-box therein, that was Queen Anne's. To the right honourable my singular and ever honoured good lord William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, if at my death he shall then be living, all my Italian, French, and Spanish books, as well printed as unprinted, being in number about three hundred and forty, namely my new and perfect Dictionary, as also my Ten Dialogues in Italian and English, and my unbound volume of divers written collections and rhapsodies; most heartily entreating his honourable lordship (as he once promised me) to accept of them as a sign and token of my affection for his honour, and for my sake to place them in his library, either at Wilton or else at Baynard's Castle at London, humbly desiring him to give way and favourable assistance that my Dictionary and Dialogues may be printed, and the profit thereof accrue unto my wife. Item, I do likewise give

and bequeath unto his noble lordship the Corvina stone, as a jewel fit for a prince, which Ferdinando the Great Duke of Tuscany gave (as a most gracious gift) unto Queen Anne of blessed memory, the use and virtue whereof is written in two pieces of paper, both in Italian and English, being in a little box with the stone;* most humbly beseeching his honour, (as I right confidently hope and trust he will in charity do if need require,) to take my poor and dear wife into his protection, and not suffer her to be wrongfully molested by any enemy of mine; as also in her extremity to afford her his help, good word, and assistance to my Lord Treasurer, that she may be paid my wages, and the arrearages of that which is unpaid, or shall be behind at my death!" His English books, and all the rest of his goods, he gives to his beloved wife, Rose Florio, "most heartily grieving and ever sorrowing that I cannot give or leave her more in requital of her tender love, loving care, painful diligence, and continual labour to me and of me, in all my fortunes and many sicknesses, than whom never had husband a more loving wife, painful nurse, or comfortable consort." He names for executors, Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, and Mr. Richard Cluett, D.D. Vicar and preacher of God's word at Fulham, "both my much esteemed, dearly beloved, and truly honest good friends," and to each of them he gives "an old green velvet desk, with a silver ink and dust-box in each, that were sometime Queen Anne's, my sovereign mistress." He owed something to his son and daughter Molins, which is to be paid by a diamond ring, formerly Queen Anne's, which cost her forty-seven pounds, and by the sale of the lease of his

* The Italian Dictionary acquaints us what the Corvina stone was;—"a stone of many virtues, which they say is found in a raven's nest, fetcht thither by the raven, if in her absence a man have sodden her eggs and laid them in the nest again, to make them raw again."

house in Shoe Lane. To this will he affixed his name and the seal of his arms, on the 20th of July, 1625, being then in perfect sense and memory. The executors declined to take upon themselves the execution of the will, and on the first of May, 1626, a commission issued to Rose Florio, the widow, to administer.

It does not appear that the Earl of Pembroke caused the Dialogues or the Dictionary to be printed; but Wood informs us that the manuscript additions to the Dictionary were placed in the hands of Torriano, and that they were used by him in his Italian Dictionary published in 1659.

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

AT the sight of such a title we naturally ask—Who is the dreamer? The poet, any of the characters of the drama, or the spectators? The answer seems to be that there is much in this beautiful sport of imagination which was fit only to be regarded as a dream by the persons whom the fairies illuded: and that, as a whole, it comes before the spectators under the notion of a dream.

If we, shadows, have offended,
Think but this, and all is mended:
—That you have but slumber'd here
While these visions did appear:
And this weak and idle theme
No more yielding but a dream,
Gentles, do not reprobate.—

Shakespeare was then but a young poet, rising into notice, and it was a bold and hazardous undertaking to bring together classical story and the fairy mythology, made still more hazardous by the introduction of the rude attempts in the dramatic art of the hard-handed men of Athens. By calling it a dream he obviated the objection to its incongruities, since it is of the nature of a dream that things heterogeneous are brought together in fantastical confusion. Yet, to a person who by repeated perusals has become familiar with this play, it will not appear so incongruous a composition that it requires such an apology as we find in the Epilogue and in the title. It cannot, however, have been popular, any more than *Comus* is popular when brought upon the stage. Its great and surpassing beauties would be in themselves a hinderance to its obtaining a vulgar popu-

larity. The finest poetry is heavy in repetition on the stage. Only the repeating the long and beautiful passages in recitative gave this play a temporary popularity when it was revived in better times. Many, no doubt, have felt what few beside Pepys would have cared to record.

The play was printed in 1600; but it existed before that date. It is named by Meres in 1598. Earlier than that date we have no positive proof of its existence. Chetwood speaks of an edition printed in 1595.* Have Chetwood's statements ever been examined in a fair and critical spirit, or do we dismiss them on the mere force of personal authority brought to bear against them? A copy cannot be produced: but neither could a copy of the first edition of *Hamlet* be produced in the time of Steevens and Malone: yet it would have been a mistaken conclusion that no such edition existed because neither of those commentators had seen a copy. Chetwood gives the title somewhat circumstantially† as if he had seen a copy: and if some of his traditions may be shewn to be unfounded, if he may be proved to have been credulous or even something worse, his writings contain some truth, and we cannot perhaps easily draw the line which shall separate that which is worthy of belief from that which is to be rejected without remorse. In aid of this date of Chetwood comes the allusion to the wet season of 1594. Mr. Halliwell has drawn attention to a passage in Forman's Diary, in which we have a description of the season:‡ but a more pertinent passage from a lecture of Dr. J. King delivered at York is brought from Strype in illustration of the

* See *The British Theatre*, 12mo, Dublin, 1750, as referred to by Mr. Halliwell.

† *A most pleasant Comedie, called A Midsummer Night Dreame, wythe the freakes of the Fayries.*

‡ *An Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, 8vo. 1841, p. 6.

well-known passage in this play by the Rev. Mr. Blakeway of Shrewsbury,* who came late into the Shakesperian field, but whose notes are always so pertinent and so instructive that we cannot but regret they should be so few.

There is no apparent reason why it should be called a dream of Midsummer Night in particular. Midsummer night was of old in England a time of bon-fires and rejoicings, and in London of processions and pageantries. But there is no allusion to anything of this kind in the play. Midsummer night cannot be the time of the action, which is very distinctly fixed to May-morning and a few days before. May-morning, even more than Midsummer night, was a time of delight in those times which, when looked back upon from these days of incessant toil, seem to have been gay, innocent, and paradisaical. See in what sweet language and in what a religious spirit the old topographer of London, Stowe, speaks of the universal custom of the people of the city on May-day morning, "to walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds praising God in their kinds." We have abundant materials for a distinct and complete account of the May-day sports in the happy times of old England; but they would be misplaced in illustration of this play: for though Shakespeare has made the time of his story the time when people went forth

To do observance to the morn of May,

and has laid the scene of the principal event in one of those half-sylvan, half-pastoral spots which we may conceive to have been the most favourite haunts of the Mayers, he does not introduce any of the May-day sports, or shew us any-

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. v. 342.

thing of the May-day customs of the time. Yet he might have done so. His subject seemed even to invite him to it, since a party of Mayers with their garlands of sweet flowers would have harmonized well with the lovers and the fairies, and might have made sport for Robin Goodfellow. Shakespeare loved to think of flowers and to write of them, and it may seem that it was a part of his original conception to have made more use than he has done of May-day and Flora's followers.

To an extravagant commentator this play might open the whole subject of the Fairy Mythology, just as *The Tempest* might be made to call for whatever can be collected respecting that so-called philosophy in which Prospero was so accomplished an adept. But both these subjects are subjects for distinct treatises, and to say much concerning them in reference to these plays is, to say the least, a misplacing of the curious learning. The following note from a pleasant little work printed in 1828, entitled *Fairy-Mythology*, seems, however, almost essential to the right understanding a material circumstance, and to the justification of the author :

The Shakesperian commentators have not thought fit to inform us why the poet designates the fairy queen Titania. It, however, presents no difficulty. It was the belief of those days that the fairies were the same as the classic nymphs, the attendants of Diana, "That fourth kind of sprites," says King James, "quhilk be the gentiles was called Diana and the wandering court, and among us called the Phaeries." The fairy-queen was therefore the same as Diana, whom Ovid frequently styles Titania. Vol. ii. p. 127.

We shall be the less surprised to find Diana in such company when we recollect that there is much in the Fairy Mythology which seems but a perpetuation of the beautiful conceptions of primeval ages, of the fields, woods, mountains, rivers, and the margin of the sea being haunted by nymphs, the dryades and hamadryades, oreades, and naiades. It is a

little noticed fact, and one which would serve as some defence of the poet for having introduced Theseus and Hippolyta, and Demetrius and the other Athenians into this fairy tale, that the fairies as they are depicted in this play are as well known in the Greek islands (or at least were so two hundred years ago *) as they are or ever were on the Great or Little Almas Cliff of Yorkshire, or on any hill-side or in any woody dell of Britain, if hill or dell there be where these innocent and amusing superstitions are still lingering. The modern Greeks have also their Puck or Robin Goodfellow, with attributes closely resembling those given to him in this play, and in the popular notions of former England.

There are four old editions of this play; namely the two folios, and two quartos both printed in the same year, 1600. The text differs in all the four. The received text is an eclectic text made up from the four, with the addition of several conjectural emendations of the middle-period editors and commentators, some of which appear too probable and too valuable to be rejected, even by the most superstitious adherent to the original text.

* See the treatise of Leo Allatius, *De Græcorum hodie quorundam opinionibus*, 8vo. 1645 : a treatise full of the most curious information respecting the popular superstitions of the Greek islands, which will be found to correspond in a most remarkable manner with those of the west of Europe, and especially with those of England. Their fairies, whom they call the *καλὰι ἀρχονίσσαι*, the fairladies, scarcely differ at all from ours : and between their witches and ours there is as close a resemblance. This treatise is never quoted by Brand; nor can I find that it was known to any of the inquirers into the antiquities of the common people of England till I called attention to it in a paper read before the Bath Royal Institution in 1831.

The same close resemblance is found in many minor observances and superstitions; and this in two islands so remote as Scyio and Britain :—

Under the Levant and the Ponent winds.

This is a fact of prime importance, as will be found whenever a philosophical investigation of the origin of these imaginations shall be undertaken.

I. I.

THESEUS.—Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
 Draws on apace; four happy days bring in
 Another moon; but, oh, methinks, how slow
 This old moon wanes! she lingers my desires,
 Like to a stepdame, or a dowager,
 Long withering out a young man's revenue.

HIPPOLYTA.—Four days will quickly steep themselves in night;
 Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
 And then the moon, like to a silver bow
 New bent in heaven, shall behold the night
 Of our solemnities.

The word *new* is an editorial substitution for the *now* of all the original editions. This is one of those cases which are trying to the taste and judgment of an editor who has to decide between the wholesome principle of adhering to the old copies, where it can be done without manifest absurdity, and the giving a reading in which it cannot be denied that something is gained both in sense and melody, while the change is also of such a nature that it may reasonably be supposed the text of the author had suffered in the hands of the printer.

However graceful as the opening of this play, and however pleasing these lines may be, they exhibit proof that Shakespeare, like Homer, may sometimes slumber: for, as the old moon had still four nights to run, it is quite clear that at the time Hippolyta speaks of there would be no moon, either full-orbed or "like to a silver bow" to beam on their solemnities, or to make up for the deficient properties of those who were to represent Pyramus and Thisbe, by moonlight, at the tomb of Ninus.

I. 1. EGZUS.

Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung,
 With PRIGGING voice, verses of PRIGGING love.

The old copies have *faining* in both places. This is a

very injudicious departure from the original text: *fain* and *feign* are two quite distinct words.

I. 1. THESEUS.

Thrice blessed they that master so their blood,
To undergo such maiden pilgrimage:
But *EARTHLIER HAPPY* is the rose distill'd
Than that which withering on the virgin thorn,
Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness.

This is the reading of all the old copies. It is perhaps one of Shakespeare's "unfiled expressions," one which he would have a little polished, had he ever "blotted a line," and yet the words after all convey their meaning with sufficient clearness. The virgin is thrice blessed, as respects the heaven for which she prepares herself; but, looking only to the present world, the other is the happier lot. A recent editor has adopted Capell's suggestion, and has printed *earthly happier*. The objections to this are, (1) that it is against authority; (2) that nothing is gained by it; (3) that if there is any difference in the meaning it is a deterioration, not an improvement; and (4) that it spoils the melody.

I. 1. LYSANDER.

AN ME! for aught that ever I could read,
Could ever hear by tale or history,
The course of true love never did run smooth.

There is a reading in this passage, presented by the second folio, which has not I think received the slightest notice from any of the editors, and yet it appears to me to have a point and pathos even beyond what the passage, as usually printed, possesses.

HERMIA! for aught that ever I could read, &c.

A skilful actor might give great effect to the name; and we ought always to remember, what Shakespeare never for-

got, that he was writing for spokesmen, not in the first instance for students in their closets.

I. 1. LYSANDER.

Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
That in a *spleen* unfolds both heaven and earth,
And ere a man has power to say,—Behold!
The jaws of darkness do devour it up.

The word *spleen* is laid under suspicion by Warburton, and is not justified by the later commentators. Nares says, "We do not find it so used by other writers." This is a mistake: and it will be seen that a happier choice could not have been made than the poet has made of this word.

Like winter fires that with disdainful heat
The opposition of the cold defeat;
And in an *angry spleen* do burn more fair
The more encountered by the frosty air.

Verses by Poole, before his England's Parnassus. 8vo. 1657.

So in Lithgow's *Nineteen Years' Travels*, 4to. 1632, p. 61, "All things below and above being cunningly perfected, and every one ranked in order with his harquebuse and pike, to stand in the centinel of his own defence, we recommend ourselves in the hands of the Almighty, and in the meanwhile attended their fiery salutations. In a *furios spleen*, the first holla of their courtesies, was the progress of a martial conflict, thundering forth a terrible noise of gally-roaring pieces," &c.

See further uses of the word in *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, Act iii. Sc. 1.; and in Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, p. 32; and by Shakespeare himself, *King John*, ii. 2, and v. 7.

II. 1. OBERON.

And make him with fair *ÆOLUS* break his faith.

The old copies read *Eagles*. In fact Shakespeare wrote

Ægles, as he found it in North's Plutarch :—"and they blame him much also for that he so lightly forsook his wife Ariadne for the love of *Ægles*, the daughter of Panopeus." Fol. 1603, p. 15.

II. 1. HELENA.

Your virtue is my privilege for that.
It is not night, when I do see your face,
Therefore I think I am not in the night.

I cannot pass over this, which is one among the innumerable deteriorations of the old text in the Variorum; and which more recent editors, who have proposed to reconsider the text, and to give it in its virgin purity, have not corrected. The old copies give with one consent—

Your virtue is my privilege : for that
It is not night when I do see, &c.

A reading infinitely superior to that which is palmed upon us.

We now approach a passage on which perhaps more has been written than on any single passage in any part of these writings :

II. 2.

OBERON.—My gentle Puck, come hither: thou remember'st
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song;
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

PUCK. I remember.

OBERON.—That very time I saw, (but thou could'st not,)
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west;
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft

Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,
 And the imperial vot'ress passed on
 In maiden-meditation, fancy-free.
 Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
 It fell upon a little western flower,—
 Before milk-white; now purple with love's wound,—
 And maidens call it, Love in idleness.

I profess at once my adherence to the interpretation which Bishop Warburton has given of the allegorical portion of this celebrated passage, so far as to the mermaid representing the Queen of Scots; and I think I can perceive some reasons for this, which were not adverted to by himself, and which have been left unnoticed by Ritson, when he combated this opinion, and subsequently by Mr. Boaden and Mr. Halpin, who have advanced theories very similar to each other respecting this passage, but quite at variance with Bishop Warburton's.

All agree that Queen Elizabeth is figured by

The fair vestal throned by the west;

indeed, on this there can be no dispute. The material question is whether by

The mermaid on a dolphin's back,

is meant, as Warburton contends, the Queen of Scots, and by the stars which shot madly from their spheres, such persons as the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who fell from their allegiance out of regard to her; or whether these are no portions of the allegory at all, but things which had a real existence, pageants in the shows at Kenilworth, on the Queen's visit to the Earl of Leicester in 1575, and are here only accessory and ornamental, the other characters figured being the Earl of Leicester, by Cupid, and the lady (Mr. Boaden supposing

one and Mr. Halpin another of the wives of Leicester) who was the wife of the Earl, by the little western flower.

The introduction of Leicester at all is founded on the presumption that the mind of Shakespeare glanced, when he wrote this passage, to the shows at Kenilworth. But this is, in itself, a gratuitous supposition, and, if we must suppose that Shakespeare had an actual pageant at all in his mind, it is remarkable that among the many pageants at Kenilworth on that occasion there was not this identical, and certainly very peculiar, one, a mermaid seated on a dolphin. But even supposing the mind of Shakespeare was carried back to Kenilworth when he wrote this allegorical passage, and that he did recollect there was Arion on his dolphin among the pageants exhibited there, there is no law of association so strong as to compel us to suppose that Leicester, though the idea of him would come along with Kenilworth, must necessarily be included in the allegory. Again, I deem it to be a point fatal to the supposition that any wife of Leicester is figured by

The little western flower,

that the allegory must be regarded, according to all just rule, as ending before the flower is introduced. This flower was a real flower, about to perform a conspicuous part in the drama, and the allegory is written expressly to give a dignity to the flower: it is the splendour of preparation intended to fix attention on the flower, whose peculiar virtues were to be the means of effecting some of the most important purposes of the drama. The passage resembles, in this respect, one a little before, in which there is an interest given to the little henchman, by the recital of the gambols of Titania with his mother on the sea-shore of India, and the interest thrown around Othello's handker-

chief. The allegory has been complete and has fulfilled its purpose when we come to the flower. We then pass from allegory to reality, that is dramatic reality. The change of the flower from white to purple was evidently suggested by the change of the mulberry, in Ovid's story of Pyramus.

Let us now look at the passage in the light in which Warburton has set it. It may be admitted that to place a mermaid on the back of a dolphin is perhaps not the happiest conception that might have been formed, and there have been found critics who have scoffed at it: but this has nothing to do with the question whether the mermaid had any counterpart in the allegory, and whether that counterpart was the Queen of Scots. It is "the poet's affair, not the commentator's," to justify the placing the mermaid on such a seat. Seeing the large space which the mermaid occupies, it can hardly be that, if there is an allegory at all, she does not bear a part in it: and, seeing how every thing said of the mermaid has its counterpart in the Queen of Scots, and not in any other person, it can hardly be that the mermaid was not intended to represent her. She has the dolphin with her, which may certainly seem very well to arise out of the fact that she had been married to the Dauphin of France: she utters

Dulcet and harmonious breath ; .

and, beside the general charm which surrounded this royal lady, interesting in herself, but still more from her misfortunes, if we must interpret the allegory in a literal spirit, we know on the best authority that she had an "alluring Scottish accent," which, with the agreeableness of her conversation, fascinated all that approached her, and subdued even harsh and uncivil minds. But some were touched by it more than others. She had not been long in England

when the two northern earls broke out in open rebellion, and would have made her queen. Leonard Dacre, a member of another noble house in the north, ventured every thing for her : and finally, the Duke of Norfolk forgot his allegiance and sought to make her his bride. Here at least it must be admitted that we have what answers very well to the stars that

shot madly from their spheres
To hear the sea-maid's music.

There is not indeed a circumstance about the mermaid to which we do not find something correspondent in the Scottish Queen.

Now proceed to the other half of the allegory.

That very time I saw, (but thou could'st not,)

That very time :—These words are most important. At the very time when the Duke of Norfolk was aspiring to the hand of the Queen of Scots, and so, shooting from his sphere, the Queen of England was herself strongly solicited to marry.

That very time I saw, (but thou could'st not,)
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd : a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west,
And loos'd his love-shafts smartly from his bow.

Mr. Halpin would give Cupid a counterpart. The Earl of Leicester, according to his theory, is Cupid. This never could have been the intention of the poet, who uses one of the most ordinary of all figures supplied from the store-house of the ancient mythology to represent the advances which were made to Elizabeth. The expression *at that very time* appears to have escaped the notice of the learned commentator who shewed the true interpretation of this passage,

and yet it appears to me to connect the two parts, and to leave no shadow of doubt that his hypothesis is the right one. The identity in respect of time happens to be very distinctly marked in a few lines of Camden's Annals. "Non majorem curam et operam ad has nuptias conficiendas adhibuerunt Galli, quam Angli nonnulli ad alias accelerandas inter Scotorum Reginam et Norfolchium." The suitor to Queen Elizabeth was of course the Duke of Anjou. At the very time when at the sea-maid's music certain stars shot from their spheres, the strong dart aimed by Cupid against Elizabeth fell innocuous; and she passed on

In maiden meditation fancy-free.

The allegory ends here. The flower, as I said before, is a real flower, which, in the hands of the poet, undergoes a beautiful metamorphose, and has now acquired all the interest which it was desirable to give it, and poetically and dramatically necessary, considering the very important part which was afterwards to be performed by it: "Fetch me that flower."

III. 1. QUINCE.

When you have spoken your speech enter into that BRAKE.

Brake has many different senses. Here it is used for what was otherwise called a *frame*, a little space with rails on each side, which in this instance were formed or at least intertwined with hawthorn, so as to form the "hawthorn brake" of which Quince speaks that was to be their tying house. See notice of the "frame or brake" in Barnaby Googe's *Book of Husbandry*, 4to. 1614, p. 119. We must form a correct idea of the brake before we can truly apprehend the meaning of the words of Puck,

Who Pyramus presented, in their sport
Forsook his scene, and entered in a brake:
When I did him at this advantage take,
An ass's now I fix'd upon his head.

Bottom had entered one of these little inclosures, and Puck came behind him and fixed the ass's nowl on his head. A *furze-bush*, and the other explanations of *brake* given by the commentators, are wholly inadmissible.

III. 2.

HERMIA.—I understand not what you mean by this.

HELENA.—AY, DO, persever, counterfeit sad looks,
Make months upon me.

This bad reading is found in all modern editions. One of the quartos, namely that printed by Fisher, gives what is the true reading. Hermia says,

I understand not what you mean by this ;

to which Helena replies in a grave and serious tone, *I do !*

IV. 1. BOTTOM.

Methinks I have a great desire to a bottle of HAY ;
Good hay, sweet hay, hath no fellow.

We have here an instance how imperfectly any printing can convey with fulness and precision all that a dramatist has written to be spoken on the stage. Bottom, half inan, half ass, is for a bottle of *a* ; *hay*, or *ale*, for the actor was no doubt to speak in such a manner that both these words should be suggested. The snatch of an old song that follows is in praise of *ale* not *hay*. Bottom sings, stirred to it by the rural music, the *rough music*, as it is called, which we learn from the folio was introduced when Bottom had said "Let us have the tongs and the bones."

IV. 1. TITANIA.

So doth the WOODBINE, the sweet HONEYSUCKLE,
Gently entwist: the female ivy so
Enriogs the baky fingers of the elm.

The passage is usually printed thus. When Johnson was young in Shakespeare criticism he put forth the following words :—"Had Shakespeare had a dictionary of this kind he

had not made the woodbine entwine the honeysuckle ;" but when he published his edition of Shakespeare he wrote more warily, it occurring to him probably that Shakespeare was too accurate an observer of nature, and too careful in what he wrote, to represent the woodbine as entwining the honeysuckle, when in fact woodbine and honeysuckle are but two names for one and the same plant, or, at most, the honeysuckle is but the flower of the woodbine.

There are two passages in Shakespeare in which he plainly means by "woodbine" what is more commonly known by the name of honeysuckle. But the identity of the two is put beyond doubt by the following passage in Googe's *Book of Husbandry*, just quoted :—"The other, *the honeysuckle or the woodbine*, beginneth to flower in June, and continueth with a pleasing sweet savour till the very latter end of summer." p. 180. All notion, therefore, of the woodbine entwining the honeysuckle is excluded, and the passage should be so printed that a reader might not inadvertently so understand it.

It seems to me that the woodbine and the sweet honeysuckle are here in what the grammarians call the state of apposition. The question then is—What does it entwist? And here is room for two opinions: first, it may be said that the expression is to be taken absolutely,—that it is a plant which naturally clings round anything by which it can be supported; or, secondly, the power of the word "entwist" may be carried forward to the elm, in which case the proper regulation of the passage would seem to be this :—

So doth the woodbine, the sweet honeysuckle,
Gently entwist—the female ivy so
Earrings—the barks fingers of the elm.

We perceive again in such a passage as this that writing is

a less perfect medium of conveying the language of dialogue than speech.

V. 1. THESEUS.

Say what ABRIDGEMENT have you for this evening?

See the remarks on the word *abridgement* under *Hamlet*, Act ii. sc. 2, *Hamlet*.

V. 2. PUCK.

If we shadows have offended
Think but this and all is mended,
That you have but slumber'd here,
While these visions did appear.

This simple epilogue forms a graceful close to this beautiful drama; but I refer to it for the sake of remarking that in the first line we have a reference back to a sentiment in the play: "The best in this kind are but shadows, and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them," an apology for the actor and a compliment to the critic. What the poet had put into the mouth of one of the characters in respect of the poor attempts of the Athenian clowns, he now by the repetition of the word "shadows," in effect says for himself and his companions.

"Shadows" is a beautiful term by which to express actors, those whose life is a perpetual personation, a semblance but of something real, a shadow only of actual existences. The idea of this resemblance was deeply inwrought in the mind of the poet and actor. When at a later period he looked upon man again as but "a walking shadow," his mind immediately passed to the long-cherished thought, and he proceeds—

A poor player

That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more.

MACBETH, V. 5.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

In perusing this play we should keep constantly in mind the ideas which prevailed in England in the time of Shakespeare of the magnificence of Venice. Now, the name calls up ideas only of glory departed—

Her long life hath reached its final day ;

but in the age of the poet, Venice was gazed on with admiration by the people of every country, and by none with more devotion than those of England :

Fair Venice, like a spouse in Neptune's arms ;
For Freedom, emulous of ancient Rome,
Famous for counsel much, and much for arms.

Harington's Verses to Lewkenor.

Her merchants were princes—her palaces were adorned with the works of Titian, and she was moreover the seat of all pleasant delights—

The pleasure-place of all festivity,
The revel of the world, the masque of Italy.

Lewkenor, Moryson, and other English travellers of the age of Shakespeare, have described Venice, including Coryat, whose notices of it, despised name though his be, afford illustrations of this play which might have been used more than they have been by preceding commentators. He speaks of the palazzos of the merchants in the vicinity of the city, of the Rialto, and of the Ghetto, one of the islands on which the Jews lived, who were in number five or six thousand. He describes their dress, those born in Italy wearing red hats,

while the Eastern or Levantine Jews wore yellow turbans.* The impression which the magnificence of Venice made upon this simple-minded but observant traveller may be judged of by the following passage, which will at the same time serve to shew how he became himself a butt for the sharp wits of his time, so that his merit as a traveller has been too much overlooked:—"This incomparable city, this most beautiful Queen, this untainted Virgin, this Paradise, this Tempe, this rich diadem and most flourishing garland of Christendom, of which the inhabitants may as proudly vaunt as I have read the Persians have done of their Ormus, who say that if the world were a ring then should Ormus be the gem thereof,—the same, I say, may the Venetians speak of their city, and much more truly;" and he concludes with saying that "if four of the richest manors in Somersetshire, where he was born, should have been bestowed upon him if he never saw Venice, he would say that seeing Venice was worth them all."†

Gosson, a writer likely to be well informed on such a subject, speaks of a play called *The Jew*, which exhibited both "the greediness of worldly chusers, and the bloody minds of usurers;" that is, it contained both the incidents of the caskets and the bond, between which there is no natural connection. Gosson's book, *The School of Abuse*, was published as early as 1579, so that there seems no room for doubt that there was a play the plot of which closely resembled that of

* This reconciles the apparently discordant accounts of two excellent authorities, Vecellio and Saint Didier, respecting the costume of the Jews at Venice. See Knight's *Pictorial Edition*, M. of V. p. 398.

† *Crudities*, 1611, ed. 1776, vol. ii. p. 76. Yet in one point Coryat claims a superiority for London.—"The play-house is very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately play-houses in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparel, shows, and music."—This is a remarkable testimony; but there are many things which tend to exalt the opinion of the state of the theatres in London in Shakespeare's time above the level at which they are usually placed.

The Merchant of Venice long before this play was written; and we may easily believe that it was completely extinguished and lost in the brilliancy of this more masterly composition; yet when one sees in what terms Gosson speaks of it we can hardly doubt that we have much of its spirit in the play before us, and that this is the true origin of *The Merchant of Venice*, to the exclusion of older writings.*

Both the stories have been traced to remote origins. On this a great deal of labour and learning has been bestowed, but it has occurred to no one to observe that, besides the ballad of *Gernutus*, we have in the popular literature of England another ballad containing incidents which bear a close resemblance to the part of this play which relates to the bond, as it contains also other incidents which are very like the part of *Cymbeline* which relates to Posthumus, Iachimo, and Imogen. This ballad continued to be occasionally printed even till within the present century. The copy which I possess is entitled *The Northern Lord*. The

* It seems extraordinary that any doubt should be thrown, as it is both by Mr. Collier and Mr. Knight, upon this play being most extremely like *The Merchant of Venice*, having brought together two stories having no natural connection, which two stories are also brought together by Shakespeare. Gosson is speaking of "some plays tolerable at some time," and he instances, amongst others, "*The Jew*, and *Ptolome*, shewn at the Bull; the one representing the greediness of worldly abusers, and bloody minds of usurers; the other very lively describing how seditious estates with their own devices, false friends with their own swords, and rebellious commons in their own snares, are overthrown; neither with amorous gesture wounding the eye, nor with slovenly talk hurting the ears, of the chaste bearers." And he afterwards says of them, and a few others, "These plays are good plays and sweet plays, and of all plays the best plays, and most to be liked, worthy to be sung of the Muses, or set out with the cunning of Roscius himself." (Shakespeare Society's Reprint, 8vo. 1841, p. 30.) Habits of criticism necessarily induce the spirit of scepticism, if they arise not out of it; but here there appears nothing on which to hang a doubt that a play which bore a most close resemblance to *The Merchant of Venice* was on the stage in London when Shakespeare was only fourteen or fifteen years of age, and that it was a play well composed, and full of admirable matter.

verse is exceedingly low and groveling, but the story is full of romantic incidents. This ballad is little, if at all, known within the range of Shakespeare criticism, so that an abstract of it may be acceptable. Of its age I can pronounce no opinion which would be of any value; but it appears to me not of modern date, that is, that there are expressions which seem to belong to the earlier ages of the existing ballad-poetry, and that the incidents are too numerous, and of too romantic a cast, to allow of its being considered as a modern invention.

A certain lord has two daughters, the one "brown," the other "fair." A knight who presents himself to the father as a suitor is informed that with the brown he will give as a portion her weight in gold, and that he expects to receive her weight in gold from the person to whom he gives the fairer daughter. The knight, of course, selects the beauty, and to raise the money has recourse to a Jew usurer, who supplies him with it, taking his bond for the repayment at a certain day, and in default he is to lose several ounces of his flesh. They marry; in due time a son is born, and time, also brings round the day when the money is to be repaid, or the forfeit taken. The knight, as the time of repayment drew near, is not prepared with the money, and the lady urges upon him, as the only resource, that they should fly beyond sea. They go to Germany, where the Emperor, having learned the circumstances under which they had come into his dominions, built for them a "court," and shewed them great respect, and the rather because they came from Britain,

That blest land of fame.

Here they lived for some time in great felicity, till a "Dutch lord," who was in the Emperor's court, wagered with the knight a ton of gold that he would "enjoy his lady

gay ; " and that he would produce a diamond ring from her finger in proof. The Dutch lord has recourse to what is the approved stratagem on such occasions : he bribes a waiting-maid of the lady, who steals the ring and gives it to him. When the English knight sees the ring in a stranger's possession he almost swoons, and then, in a state of distraction, flies to his house, and, meeting the lady who had come to the gate to welcome him, he throws her at once headlong into the moat.

So cruel a murder shocks every one, and the knight is brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to death. While he is awaiting the execution of the sentence, there suddenly appears in the Emperor's court another English knight, attired in green, who easily prevails upon the Emperor to grant a second hearing of the case. At this hearing the maid is brought to make confession of her guilt, and the court become struck with the possibility that the crime of murder may not have been committed, as the evidence went no further than to prove that the lady was thrown into the moat. The life of the knight is thus saved, and he claims and receives from the Dutch lord the ton of gold which he had justly won.

His mind bent on revenge, the Dutch lord sends information to the Jew where his debtor was living. The exasperated Jew instantly repairs to the Emperor, and claims in his court, not the money due to him, but the penalty of the bond. While this claim is under consideration, the green knight again appears : mean as the verse is, a short specimen need not be withheld—

Said the noble knight in green,

" Sir, may not your articles be seen ? "

" Yes, that they may," replied the Jew,

" And I resolve to have my due."

Lo, then, the knight began to read :
At length he said, " I find, indeed,
Nothing but flesh you are to have : "
Answers the Jew, " That's all I crave."

The poor distressed knight was brought :
The bloody-minded Jew he thought
That day to be revenged on him,
And part his flesh from limb to limb.

The knight in green said, " Mr. Jew,
There's nothing else but flesh your due ;
Then see no drop of blood you shed,
For if you do, off goes your head."

The Jew hereupon acts as Shylock in the play.

The father now appears. The report has reached him that his daughter has been drowned by her husband. He brings with him " many brave horses," one of which is purchased of him immediately by the green knight. The father is clamorous for justice, insisting that his child must have been murdered, and finally the knight is brought out to execution on his former sentence. At this juncture the knight in green again appears with the steed which he had purchased, and, to the surprise of every one, but most of all of the father, he runs his sword through the body of the noble animal, and lays it dead upon the place. The father expressing his astonishment at such an act, the knight in green argues with him that as he had purchased the horse he surely might do with it what he pleased ; and then presses home upon him that he, having sold his daughter, the purchaser had an equally entire proprietorship in her. Now comes the denouement. The green knight retires, and re-appears in splendid female habiliments, when the father and husband recognize the lady who had been supposed to be drowned, and the Emperor " proclaims a universal joy."

Whether it may ultimately turn out that this ballad is earlier than the date of this play—as an English ballad, and

as it is evidently in some way connected with two of Shakespeare's plays, and has remained hitherto unnoticed, or at least not publicly noticed, either by the commentators on Shakespeare or the collectors of the ballad poetry of England, the preceding notice of it will not be thought misplaced.

In the researches which have been instituted into the origin of the Bond story, I know not that they have ever been carried out of the region of romance, and that the question has ever been raised whether bonds with the horrible penalty annexed in the bond of Anthonio ever were given in transactions between the Jew usurers and the persons who borrowed money of them. I have had the opportunity of inspecting several bonds given to Jews in England in the thirteenth century, and certainly there are in them no such clauses. No opportunity has presented itself of examining bonds of the like nature given in other countries; but we can hardly conceive of a state of society anywhere so constituted that such a penalty could be enforced by any legitimate authority. I annex as a curiosity a copy of an obligation entered into by an Englishman of the thirteenth century to a Jew of that period, which may be taken as a specimen of the general style of English documents of this nature:

Sciunt universi quod Ego GILBERTUS LE HANEFER de Kyngeston in comitatu Surr. debeo CRESSE FILIO GONTE Judeo viginti solidos sterling. Reddendos ei ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Heurici filii regis Johannis quadragesimo primo. Et nisi tunc reddidero dabo ei singulis septimanis pro qualibet libra duos denarios de lucro quamdiu illos per gratum ejus tenuero. Ideo invadio ei omnes terras meas redditus et catalla mea ubicunque sint ad rec. inde totum debitum et lucrum. Hoc pro me et heredibus meis affido, et signo meo confirmo. Actum quinto die Aprilis anno eodem.

These were conditions sufficiently severe, an enormous interest, and his whole lands, rents, and goods, pledged for

the payment of principal and interest.* It must have been a pressing necessity which drove this poor burghess of Kingston-upon-Thames to the door of the usurer. Many cases such as this, and the present bond is a fair specimen of the terms which the Jews in England then exacted, would necessarily direct a strong current of public prejudice against the nation; for, however it may be kept out of sight, there will always be a feeling of disapproval, if not of a harsher kind, against all persons who live by availing themselves of advantages arising out of pressing necessities, even though in so doing they break no actual law. We cannot but observe in reading this play that Shakespeare, in that humane and kindly spirit in which we find him for ever exercising that power with which he was invested, though the necessities of the story did not permit him to keep out of sight the distinguishing features of the *Jew*, yet it is the *Usurer* that he exposes to the most unmitigated indignation.† We detest Shylock, not that he is a Jew, but that

* Yet it was nothing to the interest which we find in the old ballad of *Ger-nutus the Jew of Venice*, which is in some way intimately connected with this play.

His wife must lend a shilling,
 For every week a penny,
 Yet bring a pledge that is double worth,
 If that you will have any.
 And see likewise you keep your day,
 Or else you lose it all:
 This was the living of the wife,
 Her *Cow* she did it call.

We may easily understand why money thus at interest might come to be called "her cow," yielding as it did a daily supply. This application of the word is not peculiar to this ballad. A salt-pit, in the salt-districts, in the reign of Henry the Second, was known by the name *Vacca*.

† Enough has been written by the commentators on the estimation in which usurers were held in England in the time of Shakespeare. But those who desire to collect further light on the subject may consult Primauday's *French*

he is a most oppressive creditor. For the nation the poet even pleads with an earnestness which was bolder in his time than the pressing such plea would be in these more liberal times: "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?" Surely Shakespeare deserves to be styled, before all others, the Poet of Humanity, the Friend of the Friendless. Again, whatever faults there may be in Shylock, whether national or personal, how, as respects the nation, are they redeemed by the charm which is thrown around the lovely Jessica.

Shylock was a Levantine Jew, and therefore on the stage, if it is intended that strict regard shall be paid to propriety in matters of costume, he ought, according to Coryat, to appear in a yellow turban. And with this agrees what Lord Bacon says, (*Essays*, No. 41.) that "Usurers should have orangetawny bonnets, because they do Judaize." We collect that Shylock was a Levantine Jew from the name: *Scialac*, which is doubtless the same name in a different orthography, being the name of a Maronite of Mount Libanus, who was living in 1614.*

Academy; Sir John Ferne's *Glory of Generosity*, p. 195; and above all, *The Gallant's Burthen*, a Sermon at Paul's Cross, by Thomas Adams, 4to. 1612, p. 26. The difficulty in the question of usury is not, whether a man has a right to make the most of his uninvested money, just as another has of the land in which he has vested it, but whether a nation shall not interpose its shield for the protection of persons rendered defenceless, through their own misfortune or imprudence, against persons who would take advantage of their unhappy circumstances. The question when closely looked at is not without its difficulties; but there can be no doubt that Shakespeare proceeded in a proper spirit when he exposed to indignation any usurer who should act as Shylock acted.

* See *Account and Extracts of the Manuscripts in the Library of the King*

About the time when Shakespeare wrote this play, there was at Palermo a celebrated merchant, called Antonio, of whom it was said that he had at one time two kingdoms mortgaged to him by the King of Spain. He was a "Royal Merchant," a term which Shakespeare did not use without having an eye to the peculiar force of the expression.* He was in name like the merchant in the play, but not like him unfortunate: for he died in the possession of great wealth. Sandys relates that he was told concerning this Antonio, that Mr. Gresham, an English merchant at that time in Sicily, having ascended Mount Ætna, and approached near the crater, was amazed at hearing a voice from the hollow of the mountain, which said, "Dispatch, dispatch, the rich Antonio is a-coming:" and this at the very moment, as was afterwards found, when Antonio died. *Travels*, p. 194.

In the choice of Portia, as the name of the lady who performs so conspicuous a part in this play, Shakespeare appears not to have manifested his usual felicity. The principal action assigned to her has in it as much that is remote from the delicacy and softness of the female character as we can easily tolerate: and the effect of this upon the character of the lady should not have been heightened by presenting her before us with a name with which are associated ideas of sternness and loftiness, the virtues of the Roman matron of the severest age. Portia is really affectionate, retiring, gentle, and quite feminine, though the circumstances of the story require that she shall for once act *of France*, 1789, p. 23. For this very valuable reference I am indebted to some pencil notes on this play by the late Mr. F. G. Waldron.

* This is remarked by Warburton, and he has a long note on the phrase, but at last he does not appear to have caught its precise effect. A royal merchant, in the middle ages, was a merchant who transacted business for a sovereign of the time. Thus, King John calls Brand de Doway, "homo noster et dominicus mercator noster." See a protection granted to him, *Rotuli Selecti*, &c. 8vo. 1834, p. 23.

a masculine part; and, in proportion as we lose a sense of the delicacy and gentleness of her real character, we lose something of the satisfaction and delight which this most beautiful comedy is so well fitted to impart.

Nerissa, or, as Shakespeare wrote the name *Nerrissa*, is to be regarded not as a waiting-maid in the modern sense of the term, but as a young lady of birth and rank, such persons being often found in the age of Shakespeare attending on ladies of superior distinction and fortune; and therefore a suitable match for Gratiano, the friend of Bassanio. Thus Magdalene Dacre, an account of whose life was written by Richard Smith, the bishop of Chalcedon, a daughter of Lord Dacre of the North, waited on the old Countess of Bedford; and there are sixteen quarterings over the tomb of Catharine Clippesby, an attendant on the Countess of Shrewsbury of the time. That *Nerrissa*, as Shakespeare wrote, is the better reading a nice ear will perceive in this line, as well as in many others:

Nerissa [*Nerrissa*] and the rest stand all aloof.—iii. 2.

There are also passages in which *Anthony*, as Shakespeare appears to have written, pleases the ear better than *Antonio*, which the modern editors have chosen to substitute. These, it may be said, are trifling remarks; but poetry is a luxury, and therefore should be as pure and perfect as may be: nor can there be any reason why we should accept at the hands of an editor a text which is even in a slight degree worse than that which the author himself has bequeathed to us.

THE GARDEN SCENE.—The “poet’s pen” has nowhere given more striking proof of its power than in the scene of the Garden of Belmont. We find ourselves transported into the grounds of an Italian palazzo of the very first class, and

we soon perceive them to be of surpassing beauty and almost boundless extent. It is not a garden of parterres and flowers, but more like Milton's Paradise, full of tall shrubs and lofty trees, the tulip-tree, the poplar, and the cedar. But it is not, like Milton's, a garden in which the hand of Nature is alone visible. There are terraces and flights of steps, cascades and fountains, broad walks, avenues and ridings, with alcoves and banqueting-houses in the rich architecture of Venice. It is evening: a fine evening of summer, which tempts the masters of the scene to walk abroad and enjoy the breezes which ruffle gently the foliage. The moon is in the heavens, full orb'd and shining with a steady lustre, no light clouds disturbing the deep serene. On the green sward fall the ever-changing shadows of the lofty trees, which may be mistaken for fairies sporting by the moonlight: where trees are not, the moonbeams sleep upon the bank. The distant horn is heard, and even sweeter music floats upon the breeze.

At first the only figures in the scene are those of Lorenzo and Jessica, two lovers, for whom a lively interest has been created by the earlier events of the drama. They are in perfect harmony with the scene. Their love is less impassioned than that of the two lovers in the garden at Verona, moon-lit also; they are more like the pair who inhabit Milton's Paradise. At first, indeed, their conversation is of a more light and sportive character than the conversation of Paradise; but it assumes afterwards so much of the grave, speculative, and philosophical, that we are forcibly reminded of Milton, or rather led to think that when he shewed us Paradise he had not lost his early impressions from the garden of Belmont.

In the modern editions we are instructed to look upon Lorenzo and Jessica as pacing an avenue leading to Portia's

house. The original copies have nothing of this. Why may they not emerge from one of the alcoves or arbours, when, coming suddenly into the broad moon-light, the "paler day," they call to it the attention of each other. Lorenzo is the first to notice the soft and steady lustre. It reminds him of a scene he well remembered in an old romance :

In such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
And they did make no noise : in such a night,
Troilus, methinks, mounted the Trojan walls,
And sighed his soul toward the Grecian tents
Where Cressid lay that night.

Jessica's reading supplies her promptly with a parallel instance. She thinks of, and calls his attention to, the moon-light on the night when Thisbe met Pyramus at old Ninus' monument. The passages are too familiar to need or to bear quotation. The readiness with which Jessica produces this parallel instance takes Lorenzo by surprise. His honour is concerned ; a competition is begun, and he must not be "out-nighted." He recalls another moon-lit scene in which an unhappy lover is the solitary and affecting figure. It is Dido, "with a willow in her hand, upon the wild sea-bank." The stock of lovers in moon-lit scenes from ancient story is failing, but Jessica bethinks her of Medea "gathering the enchanted herbs" beneath the uncertain light of the moon. Lorenzo is now fairly vanquished : but he retires gracefully from the field. He has no other ancient story, but he has a tenderer theme. He calls to her recollection the night when she herself stole away from home,

And with an unthrift love did run from Venice
As far as Belmont ;

and then begins another pretty contention in which the honour of both is at last saved by the arrival of Stephano with news of the approach of Portia.

For the four moon-lights in classical or quasi-classical story the poet did not draw on his imagination, but his memory. It is not that Troilus, Thisbe, Dido, and Medea *might* have done what they did when the moon was shining in full splendour, as on that night on the garden of Belmont, but the poet had read that they did what they are described as having done, in the moon-light. This at least is the fact in respect of three out of the four, and with respect to the fourth an explanation may be given which will bring it within the same category.

The first is Troilus. Though this is a classical name, and the story is a tale of Troy, yet cannot the story be traced to any of the ancient poets. It may be found in several middle-age writers, but it seems to have been to Chaucer that Shakespeare was indebted for his knowledge of it. The particular passage which he had in his mind is to be found in the fifth book of *Troilus and Creseide*.

This sooge when he thus songen had sooe
 He fyl ayen to his sighes olde,
 And every night, as was hys wont to doone,
 He stode the bright moooe to beholde,
 And al his sorowe he to the moone tolde
 And said, y-wis whan thou art horned newe
 I shal be gled, if al the worlde be trewe.
 I sawe thyn hornes olde eke by the morowe
 When heoce rode my right lady dere
 That cause is of my turmeot and my sorowe
 For whiche, O hright Lucina the clere,
 For love of God, ren fast aboute thy spere,
 For whan thyn hornes newe gyanen spryng,
 Than shal she come that may my hlysse brynge.

* * * * *

Upon the walles faste eke wolde he walke,
 And on the Grekes hoste he wolde se,
 And to him selfe right thus he wolde talke:
 Lo, yooder is myn owne lady fre,
 Or els yooder, there the tentes be,

And thence cometh this ayre that is so soote
That in my sonle I fele it doth me boote.

The next is Thisbe. Every one remembers

Quem procul ad lunæ radios Babilonia Thisbe
Vidit:—

But for the suggestion of this also, and even of the two which follow, it seems that Shakespeare was also indebted to Chaucer; that, in fact, the old folio of Chaucer was lying open before him when he wrote this dialogue, and that there he found Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, as well as Troilus. It is at least certain that Thisbe, Dido, and Medea do occur together in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, which in the folio immediately follows the *Troilus*. The passage respecting Thisbe is this:

Alas! than cometh a wylde lyonesse
Out of the wode, withouten more areest,
With bloody monthe, of strangling of a beest,
To drinken of the wel there as she sat.
And whan that Tisbe had espyed that
She ryst her up with a ful drery herte,
And in a cave with dredful fote she sterte,
For by the moone she sawe it wel withall.

Neither Virgil nor Ovid represent Dido as standing by moonlight "on the wild sea-bank," as she is so picturesquely depicted by Shakespeare, and the idea of placing a willow in her hand is modern,—

The willow worn of forlorn paramours;

but Chaucer, when he speaks of Dido, says

It fell upon a nyght
Whan that the moone npreysed had her light,
This noble Quene unto her rest y-wente;
She sigheth sore, and gon her selfe turmente;
She walketh, waloweth, and made many hraide,
As done these lovers.

But the truth seems to be that Shakespeare has transferred

to Dido what he found in Chaucer's *Legend* concerning Ariadne :

Ariadne passioning
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight.

TWO GENT. OF VERONA, IV. 4.

when

To the stronde all barefote fast she wente,
And cryed, Theseus, myn hert awete,
Where be ye, that I may nat with yon mete,
And might thus with bestis ben y-slayne ?
The halowe rockes answerde her agayne,
No man she sawe, and yet shone the moone,
And hyc upon a rocke she went soone,
And sawe his harge saylyng on the see.
Cold woxe her hert, and right thus sayd she,
Mekcr than ye, fynde I the beestys wyldc.
Hath he nat synne, that he her thus begylde ?
She cryed, O turne agayne for routh and synne !
Thy harge hath nat al his meyne inne.
Her kercheve on a pole stycked she,
Ascaunse he shulde it wele y-se,
And him remembre that she was behynde,
And turne agayne, and on the stronde her fynde.

There can scarcely be a doubt that this is the parent of the image of Dido ; and the merit of Shakespeare consists in a skilful adaptation, and in having produced by a few strokes an effect superior to that which the older poet has produced with so much labour, and with no mean success.

There remains only Medea. In the Medea of Chaucer we have no moon, nor even the going out at night to gather herbs. What Shakespeare here owes to Chaucer is the suggestion of the character. Seeing Medea in *The Legend of Good Women*, his mind was directed to Ovid, the Latin poet with whom he seems to have been best acquainted, and he there found

As sone as that she shone
Most full of light, and did behold the earth with fulsome face,
Medea, with her hair not trust so much as in a lace,

But flaring on her shoulders twain, and bare foot, with her gown
Ungirded, gat her out of doors, and wandering up and down
Alone the dead time of the night—

I quote from Golding, because it is evident that Shakespeare was accustomed to read Golding, without at all meaning to insinuate that he might not have gone at once to the original, or that he might not have remembered in this and the other instances Virgil or Ovid themselves.

I believe, however, that he was indebted in the first instance to Chaucer; and that this is perhaps the best instance of the Chaucerisms which it is suspected lurk in greater abundance than is yet known in the writings of Shakespeare. It is pleasant thus to trace the pedigree of favourite passages, and to see one poet doing silent homage to the genius of another.

A passage so popular as this deserves the most minute adjustment. Some of the old copies read "wall," some "walls," which is, perhaps, the best. The connective particle "and," which is found in the folio of 1632, is withdrawn by the modern editors from the concluding speeches of Jessica and Lorenzo, to the injury of the sense, the metre, and the harmony.

The dramatic skill as well as the poetic power of Shakespeare may be eminently illustrated from this scene. Delightful as such discourse in such circumstances is, it must not be too long continued, as it conduces nothing to the business of the drama. Yet the poet had not delivered his whole mind, and he meant still longer to ravish the ears of young and old with this sweet and virtuous discourse. It is that he might not seem inattentive to the business of the scene, and that the audience might not grow impatient for the progress of the story, that he here introduces the two servants with intelligence of the approach of Portia

and Bassanio. This was enough for the purpose. Orders are given for preparations to receive them, and for the music. Then the dialogue proceeds.

How sweet the moon-light sleeps upon this bank !
 Here will we sit, and let the sounds of musick
 Creep in our ears ; soft stillness and the night
 Become the touches of sweet harmony.
 Sit, Jessica : Look ! how the floor of heaven
 Is thick inlaid with patterns of bright gold ;
 There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
 But in his motion like an angel sings,
 Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins :^{*}
 Such harmony is in immortal souls ;
 But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
 Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

Purer stream of poetry than this never flowed from poet's pen. Higher thoughts never found happier expression. The cultivated mind of Lorenzo might well, in such a night, turn to the Pythagorean notion of Heavenly Harmony. He is to be regarded here as a kind of teacher of philosophy, delivering instruction to his fair companion who sits silent by, as Adam, in the only scene which can bear comparison with this, pours instruction into the ear of Eve. It would have given an unpleasing air of pedantry to the character of Jessica had she sought again to rival Lorenzo, or shewn that she had before any acquaintance with these high mysteries. Yet it cannot be denied that there is a difficulty in adjusting the sense which seems to have been intended to the words as they are delivered to us. It is a difficulty from which neither various reading nor happy conjecture has yet been sufficient wholly to extricate us.

^{*} This is the orthography of all the early editions, and is no doubt what Shakespeare wrote. The difficulty is not why Shakespeare annexed the plural 's to a word that was already plural without it, but why he preferred the Chaldee plural to the common Hebrew plural, and did not write the more familiar word *cherubim*, or, if it so pleased him, *cherubims*.

Take it, as it is generally understood to mean, that while we are in the body we cannot hear the music of the spheres, and it must be admitted that this is one of the "unfiled expressions," an uncorrected passage, one of those which Jonson, a more correct and classical writer, wished that he had reformed. Still, if we can suppose Shakespeare to have been intending to represent Lorenzo as acquainted with a philosophical opinion of a more recondite nature than that of the harmony of the spheres, the words admit of an interpretation, and a very just and proper one, without any disturbance of the text, and where every clause and every word has its just and proper meaning. Beside that music of the spheres, which no mortal ear ever caught a note of, there was by some philosophers supposed to be a harmony in the human soul. "Touching musical harmony," says Hooker, "whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low sounds in a due proportionable disposition, such, notwithstanding, is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself, by nature is, or hath in it, harmony." If we apply this profounder doctrine to the illustration of Lorenzo's speech we must suppose that we have done with the music of the spheres at the line,

Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins.

Lorenzo then begins to instruct Jessica in a deeper mystery :

Such harmony is in immortal souls.

Harmony such as that which the cherubim hear, as the spheres pass swiftly along, is also in the immortal souls of men. But though it is thus in us, and within us, it is so closed in by this "muddy vesture of decay," this gross cor-

poreal substance in which the soul is placed, that we cannot hear it. It was Dr. Farmer who first illustrated this passage, from the doctrine noticed by Hooker.*

One verbal criticism this passage requires. There was difficulty from the beginning. One of the two quartos reads *pattens*, the other *pattents*; the first folio has *pattens*, the second folio *patterns*. *Pattents* is wholly inadmissible. *Patterns* has been almost universally rejected, so little favour have the readings of the second folio found at the hands of the modern editors. We usually find *pattens*, but against this reading is the formidable objection, that nothing called at any period a *patten* can be supposed to have been used to represent a star.† To get quit of this difficulty, the word was turned into *patine*, the Latin word *patina* Anglicised. There is no happiness or propriety in likening the stars to dishes, not even golden ones. I have no doubt that *pattern* was the word from the beginning, and that Lorenzo was speaking of the stars as in their constellations, not individually; and the constellations may not unsuitably be spoken of as *patterns*, just as we speak of the pattern of mosaic work, or the pattern of a flowered or spotted damask.

To proceed with this fascinating scene. When Lorenzo calls to the musicians, it is in the words,

Come ho! and wake Diana with a hymn.

* The book of the *Ecclenastical Polity* (Book v.) in which these words are found, was first published in 1597, too late, it is probable, to have been read by Shakespeare when he wrote this play; but Shakespeare, as well as Hooker, might have read of the doctrine elsewhere, or heard of it in some philosophic discourse.

† Warburton (*Boswell's Malone*, vol. v. p. 131.) says that a *patten* is "a round broad plate of gold, borne in heraldry;" and to this Steevens appears to give his sanction. But it is a mistake. Such a plate of gold is called a *bezant*.

This is in reference to what he said just before of the moon's sleeping,

How sweet the moon-light sleeps upon this bank.

And again,

How the moon
Sleeps with Endymion, and would not be awaked :*

but the naming Diana recalls, by association, the idea of Portia ; and Lorenzo proceeds,

With sweetest touches pierce your mistress' ear,
And draw her home with music.

From the contemplation of the clear cloudless sky, the moon walking in her brightness, and the eldest sons of God singing together in their courses, the mind of Lorenzo is now turned to the sweet music which may be heard with the outward ear, led to it by the well-interposed remark of Jessica,

I am never merry when I hear sweet music ;

and he discourses, still in the character of tutor or instructor, to his companion, on the power of music on both beasts and men :

The reason is, your spirits are attentive :
For do but note a wild and wanton herd,

* There is not a more inexcusable defeat committed on the text of Shakespeare by any editor than is done by Mr. Malone in this exquisite passage. He not only would read, but actually prints, as his text,

Peace, ho ! the moon sleeps with Endymion,
And would not be awaked.

And this because, as he says, of the oddness of the phrase, "*How the moon would not be awaked.*" But can any one read the words as they stand in Shakespeare, and not recognize in a moment one of the commonest and most intelligible of English phrases by which we express admiration ? All the beauty of the expression is lost by the change : Portia looks upwards and observes the steady, still, settled, and almost imperceptible motion of the fair planet of the night, and thus expresses her admiration of the soft beauty of the scene.

Or race of youthful and unhandled colts,
 Fetching mad bounds, bellowing, and neighing loud,
 Which is the hot condition of their blood ;
 If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound,
 Or any air of musick touch their ears,
 Yon shall perceive them make a mutual stand,
 Their savage eyes turn'd to a modest gaze,
 By the sweet power of musick : therefore, the poet
 Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods ;
 Since nought so stockish, hard, and full of rage,
 But musick for the time doth change his nature :
 The man that hath no musick in himself,
 Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
 Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils ;
 The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
 And his affections dark as Erebus :
 Let no such man be trusted.

With such eloquent discourse the interval is filled up till the arrival of Portia.

There is a dramatic purpose worthy of notice in the words which Portia utters when she first appears upon the scene :

That light we see is burning in my hall :
 How far that little candle throws his beams !
 So shines a good deed in this naughty world.

It was meant to connect the present with the past ; the defeated attempt of Shylock on the life of Anthonio with the scenes of Belmont ; and the spectators are thus led to look upon Portia returning to the house in which the scene of the caskets had been presented, crowned with the honours of the good deed she had done in freeing the merchant.

There is also great dramatic skill shewn in the dialogue which now ensues between Portia and Nerrissa. It is not quite unlike that to which we have been listening with such charmed ears between Lorenzo and Jessica ; yet it is less philosophical, and so leads gently to the change from those sweet discourses to the business of the story, to which it was now necessary to proceed.

It will hardly be denied that the remainder of this scene is not of equal excellence with the part of it we have been considering, nor is it equal to many other parts of the play. This presents a difficulty which is hardly explained by the obvious remark that a poet, however great, is not always in his finest mood, and that, as Horace Walpole is said to have remarked, there are seasons when poets are in flower. We may remark, however, upon this part of the scene, that it exhibits a curious proof that when Shakespeare delineated, in a manner to make the scene visible to every eye, the garden of Portia, he thought of the garden he had himself created of the Capulets at Verona. The passages which open a view of this little process of the poet's mind are these: Portia—"Swear by your double self;" Juliet—"Swear by your gracious self." Bassanio—"The blessed candles of the night;" Romeo—"Night's candles are burnt out." Bassanio's hyperbolical compliment to the eyes of Portia,—

We should hold day with the Antipodes
If you should walk in absence of the sun,

is not more worthy of the poet than the words which he had put into the mouth of Romeo,—

Her eye in heaven
Would through the airy regions stream so bright
That birds would sing and think it were not night.

With one remark more I close the illustrations of this most beautiful scene. Lorenzo has observed—

Since nought so stockish, hard, and *full of rage*,
But music for the time doth *change his nature*,

and this might open the whole question of the effect of musick on irrational animals, and the margins might overflow with the discordant opinions of the critics. For the purpose of legitimate annotation it is sufficient to shew that this was the opinion of Shakespeare's age, and of the persons for

whose entertainment he wrote; and it happens that we have the testimony of a learned foreigner who visited England a little before the time of Shakespeare, that a lion in the Tower, which is described as of extraordinary size, afforded a remarkable instance of brute susceptibility to the power of music. The traveller was Henry Stephens, and the passage being in itself very curious, and affording so apt an illustration of this part of the philosophical discourse of Lorenzo and being, moreover, little known, is here given at large—

Cum Londini agerem, animam cupido incescit visendi leonem, cujus omnes mihi vastitatem prædicabant. Forte accidit, dum ejus una cum aliis sodalibus spectator essem, ut iugrederetur juvenis organum quoddam circumferens. Is quum paullo post hortatu nostro (experiri enim licebat, quam verum esset quod de leone ferebatur) pulsare illud cœpisset, repente vastam illam belluam, relictis quas avide aliqui vorabat antea carnibus, non modo attentam musicorum sonorum adjutricem esse, sed et in gyrum corpus circumagere, perque certos orbes ire ac redire, tanquam tripudiantem non sine stupore conspeximus. Pulsare organum ille desinebat? ad carnes hic suas redibat. Ad pulsandum organum ille revertebatur: missas carnes hic faciebat, suamque tripudiationem iterum incoepabat. Nec vero hoc tum aliquoties expertos esse, satis esse nobis visum est: sed et aliquot post diebus eo reversi iterum experiri volumus: et experti certe sumus, sed minore tamen cum admiratione, quod tunc in vorandis carnibus occupatus minime esset.*

The recovery of the original play mentioned-by Gosson would doubtless throw much light upon the composition of *The Merchant of Venice*, as we now have it. In its present state it seems to have been subjected to correction, alteration, and addition after it had been once completed, but doubtless all by Shakespeare's own hand, though one passage at least remained not accommodated to the changes which were made. The passage is this: "The *four* strangers seek for you, Madam, to take their leave;" but in all the copies, beginning with the earliest, there were *six*, namely, the Neapolitan, the County Palatine, the French lord, the English

* *De Vitis Stephanorum*, Amst. 12mo. 1683, p. 65.

baron, the Scottish lord, and the young German. It may be presumed that the number originally was only four, and that the two added on a revival were the English and Scottish lords, the better to please an English audience.

No printed copy is known of an earlier date than 1600, in which year there were two editions ; but it is named by Meres in 1598, and Whalley has shewn that the beauty of the moonlight contest between Lorenzo and Jessica did not protect it from being derided by a very inferior dramatist, the author of a play called *Wily Beguiled*. This play is of uncertain date, but Malone informs us that it is mentioned by Nash in 1596, whence it may be safely inferred that some of the most exquisite portions of this play were written before that year.

A few notes on particular words or passages follow.

I. I. SALARINO.

Your mind is tossing on the ocean ;
There, where your *ARGOSIES* with portly sail—
Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood,
Or as it were the pageants of the sea,—
Do overpeer the petty traffickers.

Shakespeare shews great address in the opening of this play. Anthonio, sad, he knows not why, is a very suitable introduction to the deeply serious character of the incidents which are soon to succeed.

With the word *argosy* he might become acquainted in reading Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, in which play the word often occurs ; but, though the commentators have bestowed so much attention upon it, it is by no means an uncommon word. An *argosy* was a vessel of great bulk. Cuninghame, in his *Cosmography*, when enumerating different kinds of vessels, places the *argosy* at the head of the list. The vessels of the Venetian merchants are perhaps especially called *argosies*. Thus Taylor writes, " One of the Christian fleet was

a great vessel, or a supposed Venetian argosy; and another was a tall ship, as it were, appointed for the safe convoy of the argosy."* It would appear from this quotation that it was used for merchant vessels only.

Though the passage pleases every one who reads it, as well by the agreeable flow of the verse as by the beautiful image it presents to the mind of a richly laden vessel with all its sails unfurled passing in a stately manner along, it is perhaps not perfectly constructed. At least we cannot be sure that we apprehend what was the real meaning of the poet, between two meanings of which the passage admits. It may be that the argosies of Anthonio overpeer at sea the petty traffickers, just as the signiors and rich burghers do petty traffickers upon land, in which case the line, "Or, as it were the pageants of the sea," must be regarded as parenthetical, and as producing a slight interruption of the continuity: or it may be taken as meaning that the argosies appear upon the sea like so many signiors and rich burghers, bearing with them the ideas of wealth and abundance, and, as if that was not thought sufficient, he compares them again to "pageants," pageant ships, gorgeously decorated, such as were exhibited in the shows of the time, no longer confined to some inland lake or river, but "the pageants of the sea" itself, so large and so magnificent in all their apparatus.

I. 3.—SHYLOCK.

Three thousand DUCATS,—well.

We hear so much of ducats in the course of this play, and so little that is satisfactory is to be learned from the dictionaries concerning this coin, that a few words respecting it may not be misplaced. It is a pure Venetian piece

* *Heaven's blessing and Earth's joy*, a kind of masque written on the marriage of the Elector Palatine.

of money, and the name is a mere abbreviation of *Ducatus Venetorum*. It was a gold coin, so that a loan of three thousand ducats must be considered a very large sum, perhaps something nearly equivalent to a loan of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, were such a transaction to take place now. The ducat bore this inscription,

SIT. T. XPEDAT. Q. TURREGIS. ISTE. DVCA.

which is to be read in full thus :

Sit tibi, Christe, datus
Quem tu regis, iste Ducatus.

See on this subject C. A. Heumann's *Poecile sive Epist. Miscell.* Hæc, 1729, vol. iii. book ii. p. 242, to which a friend of great learning drew my attention.

I. 3. SHYLOCK.

There be land-rats and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves ; I mean pirates.

There is a resemblance sufficient to be taken notice of between this passage and one in Florio's address to the reader before his Italian dictionary, 1598 ;—"And here might I begin with those notable pirates in this our paper sea, those sea-dogs, or land critikes, monsters of men, if not beasts rather than men." King Charles the First is said to have called seamen in contempt "water-rats." Harris's *Historical Account*, &c. London, 1814, vol. ii. p. 82.

II. 6.—JESSICA.

Why, 'tis an office of DISCOVERY, love ;
And I should be OBSCURED.

This is a military term. Sir John Smith in his *Instructions and Orders military*, 1595, p. 51, speaks of "great intelligence by *discoverers* and *espials*." *Obscured* is disguised.

III. 2.—PORTIA.

Ay, but I fear you speak upon the rack,
Where men enforced do speak anything.

It is an admirable quality of this free and noble spirit that in all questions of politics and morals he is ever on the side of justice and humanity. He has here given us what is the great argument against the use of torture, folded up, as his manner is, in small space, fit to circulate from hand to hand, and thus to produce a combination of sentiment and judgment in the whole community against what was a common but iniquitous practice of the time. Let us observe also, to the honour of this great teacher of truth, that such a sentiment as this, which in the reign of Victoria would find a respondent and approving voice from all, in the reign of Elizabeth would be coldly received by those at least who guided the public counsels, or conducted private examinations, if they found not sedition in it, and matter for a Star Chamber inquiry. At the very time when Shakespeare's actors were repeating these words at the Black Friars or on the Bankside, the secret chambers of the Tower were actually echoing the groans of suspected persons who were subjected to this unreasonable mode of extorting information. Shakespeare must have known this, and I hope that it was because he knew it that he sent the thrilling words through the crowds that resorted to his theatre. He has at least taken care that they should be connected with the idea of treason.

PORTIA.—Upon the rack, Bassanio? then confess
What *treason* there is mingled with your love.

BASSANIO.—None but that ugly *treason* of mistrust,
Which makes me fear the enjoying of my love :
There may as well be amity and life
'Tween snow and fire, as *treason* and my love.

PORTIA.—Ay, but I fear you speak upon the rack,
Where men enforced do speak anything.

BASSANIO.—Promise me life and I'll confess the truth.

PORTIA.—Well then, confess and live.

Portia is throughout a little sententious, and in this last expression she gives a counterpart expression to one of our English stock-proverbs, "Confess, and die."

I cannot quit this passage, without again calling attention to the boldness as well as to the wisdom of it. In Jardine's *Essay on the Use of Torture in England*, 8vo. 1836, we have sufficient proof of the frequent use of it in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, but we have not evidence that either the law or the church remonstrated against what he shews to be a new practice in England. Is it too much to claim for Shakespeare that he was the first who raised his voice expressly against it, and, heedless of the consequences to himself, shewed the iniquity and the folly of what they were doing, to the politicians who commanded the application of it? Let some other person produce an earlier instance. I know of none.

III. 2. PORTIA.

I stand for sacrifice;
The rest aloof are the Dardanian wives,
With bleared visages, come forth to view
The issue of the exploit.

There is something very Greekish in this: something which seems to shew that Shakespeare was acquainted with the structure of the Greek drama, and he shews his acquaintance with it at the proper time, when Portia compares herself to the virgin devoted by Laomedon to the sea-monster.

III. 2. BASSANIO.

What find I here?
Fair Portia's COUNTERFEIT.

A better authority for *counterfeit* being used in the sense of portrait is afforded by Sir John Harrington, in his *Life of Ariosto*, annexed to his translation of the *Orlando*: "His *counterfeit* was taken by Tytiano, that excellent drawer, so well to the life that a man would think yet it were alive." p. 421.

III. 2. BASSANIO.

The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
The best conditioned and UNWEARIED spirit
In doing courtesies.

Unwearied should evidently be *unweariedst*, though I cannot find that any of the old copies have it so.

III. 4. PORTIA.

Unto the TRANECT, to the common ferry
That trades to Venice.

In this speech all the editors have concurred in substituting Padua for Mantua, the reading of the old copies. They might then have concurred in adopting, as most of them have done, Theobald's substitution of *traject* for *tranect*, a word for which no authority has ever been produced. The ferries at Venice were called *traghetto*, *trajects*, as we learn from Coryat, (*Crudities*, i. 210.) "There are at Venice thirteen ferries or passages, which are commonly called '*traghetto*.'" Yet the Italians use *Tranare* for to pass or swim over.

IV. 1. PORTIA.

But Mercy is above this sceptred sway,
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute of God himself,
And earthly power doth then shew likest God's,
When mercy seasons justice.

To the numerous parallel passages given in the notes,

may be added the following striking lines, copied from a fly-leaf in a volume of historical collections in the Bodleian Library :

*For Mercy is the highest reach of wit,
A safety unto him that saves by it :
Born out of God, and unto human eyes
Not seen, like God, till fleshly passion dies.*

It was, however, one of the common-places of the time, and might, no doubt, be found in innumerable writers ; but it may be doubted whether it is any where exhibited in a manner so impressive as here. Such is the power of divinest poesy.

Such sentiments, so far as they respect the course of public punishments, it was of more importance to urge in the time of Shakespeare than now : when the single mind of the monarch, unswayed by counsel, and with no very determinate principles, often decided the fate of persons convicted of crimes, of which a very remarkable instance occurred in the time of Shakespeare, when King James the First secretly determined to save the lives of the Lords Grey and Cobham, convicted of treason, when every one beside thought that their execution was certain. It was, however, the cruellest mercy ever shewn, for the two peers were actually brought upon the scaffold, and when there the sheriff produced the king's letter, written with his own hand, commanding execution to be stayed. An observer of this spectacle says, " they looked strange upon each other, and seemed like friends parted in this world and newly met in another."

IV. 1. SHYLOCK.

A DANIEL come to judgment ! yea, a DANIEL.

One would rather have expected to have found Solomon in this place. But see the Story of Susanna and the Elders :

also Ezekiel xxviii. 3, and Daniel vi. 3. The expression arose out of these passages, unless it is to be traced to the Hebrew analysis of the name דניאל, which affords "an eminent judge." It was an expression not invented for the occasion, as appears by the following passage in a letter to Lady Darcy, 1595, printed in Mr. Gage-Rokewode's *History of Hengrave*, p. 215:—"Madam, I do wish you one other *Daniel* to decide your doubts, according to your good deserts:" so that it was probably an ordinary current expression.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

WE now approach another of the plays in which the genius of Shakespeare appears in its full splendour. It was produced in or before the year 1600; but not long before, since it is not mentioned by Meres in 1598. We know that it existed in 1600 only by a slight and irregular notice of it on the books of the Company of Stationers. We have no reason to think that it was then printed. At least no edition is known of it before it appeared in the folio of 1623; so that an editor, in settling the text of this play, has neither the assistance nor the perplexity which the various readings of the quartos give him.

The text has come down to us in a state of very gross corruption. Sometimes speeches are assigned to the wrong characters. Sometimes the corruptions are in particular passages. There are within the compass of this play at least twenty passages in which the corruption is so decided that no one would for a moment think of defending the reading: and there are about fifteen where the probability of corruption is so great that the most scrupulous editor would think it his duty, if not to substitute a better text, yet to remark in his notes the text as delivered to us, and the text as it probably should be. Yet Mr. Knight tells us "the text of the original folio is, upon the whole, a very correct one."

But in spite of all the disadvantages under which this play has come down to us, whether we read the folio with all its errors, or a modern edition, in which those errors are corrected according to the judgment of an editor, it is im-

possible not to acknowledge this as one of the greatest works of this great master. Its beauties are peculiar to itself. Save a few scenes of *Cymbeline*, we have nothing resembling it. It stands alone. But nearly the same may be said of all the greater works. Each is unlike every other.

We are transported into a scene of wild nature, which is as vividly portrayed as is the garden at Belmont, or the weather-fenced cell of Prospero. It is the Forest of Arden, that is the woody country about Namur, Leige, and Luxemburgh, watered by the Meuse. Shakespeare has himself fixed the locality, and given to it its geographical boundaries. He did not foresee that, in a distant day, there would be self-called critics, who would deride the idea of fixing his scenes on any actual locality. The Forest of Arden was a favourite spot for the lovers of field sports. In those days there was an air of religion thrown over every thing. In the midst of it was a little chapel, dedicated to Saint Herbert, the patron saint of hunters, with a shrine to which people went on pilgrimage. It would be, perhaps, taking it in too literal a spirit to imagine that this chapel was the chapel in which Sir Oliver was to join Touchstone and Audrey.

The name and the district were familiar to Englishmen. When Spenser speaks of it, it is as the "famous Ardeyn." An incident which occurred about the time when this play first appeared, or soon after, would draw attention to this forest and its wild and solitary grandeur. An English gentleman was pistolled by his guide as he was crossing it, "because, riding in a suit laid thick with gold-lace, he was supposed to have had store of crowns."*

We hear much in this play of the oaks of Arden.

* Peacham's *Truth of our Times*, p. 141. He gives no more of the name than "Mr. W. T." and says that he was a friend of his.

Under an old oak, whose boughs were mossed with age,
And high top bald with dry antiquity.—Act iv. Sc. 3.

And again :

Under an oak whose antique root peeps out
Upon the brook that hrawls along this wood.—Act iv. Sc. 1.

A poet may undoubtedly, having formed the conception of a forest, call into existence whatever forest-trees he pleases, as he may invent, if it please him to do so, whole forests and whole islands at once. But Shakespeare, here at least, has chosen to follow nature and to conform to fact; for we happen to receive the information from one of his contemporaries that Arden “ for the most part beareth oak.”*

Shakespeare did not select the Forest of Arden for the scene of his story from amongst other forests of Europe. It is the scene of the incidents in the novel from which he wrought: but he would not value the name the less because it was that of the mother from whom he sprung, and of the forest country of Warwickshire, in and around which his family had been seated for many generations.

In any edition of the plays of Shakespeare, which aspires to completeness, the Novel by Lodge, which he has followed in this play, should be printed,† perhaps with some curtail-

* Googe's *Whole Art of Husbandry*, p. 95.

† This is now of the less importance, as having been lately reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier, in his extremely useful *Shakespeare Library*, which ought to accompany every edition of these plays. Mr. Collier has also, in various places, given us contributions for the Life of Lodge, particularly in *The Poetical Decameron*, a work abounding in valuable information respecting the poets and poetry of the age of Elizabeth. Mr. Singer has also given some account of him in a reprint of his *Scyllas Metamorphosis*. The foundation of all later notices of him was laid by Wood, in an article in the *Athenæ*, to which some very valuable additions were made by Dr. Bliss. There have also appeared some useful notices in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, N. S. Vol. li. But there is still something wanting; some better proof than we yet possess that the scholar, lawyer,

ment, as we have Arthur Brook's story of *Romeus and Juliet* appended to the play on that story. It is entitled *ROSALYND—Euphues Golden Legacy : found after his death in his Cell at Silixedra, &c.*, for there is more of it. Till the discovery of this obscure tract, it was supposed that Shakespeare was indebted for the plot of this play to *The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*, a story thought by some to be Chaucer's, but of which no printed copy is known to have existed in the time of Shakespeare. Lodge, when he wrote his *Rosalind*, appears to have seen it. It was Dr. Zachary Grey who first brought it forward in illustration of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare has added Jaques, Touchstone, and Audrey, to the number of the characters. Most of the characters are discriminated; some of them (especially Jaques) having very peculiar traits. They blend harmoniously, and are in strict keeping with the scenery.

This play, more than any other particular play, appears to have laid strong hold on the mind of Milton. It appears not only to be prominent in his thoughts when he speaks generally of Shakespeare, but particular passages (more perhaps than he found in any other play) seem to have dwelt upon his memory and influenced his verse. Thus when, in the *L'Allegro*, he speaks of Shakespeare, it is in these terms,

soldier, poet, translator of the classics, and physician, was one and the same Thomas Lodge: And again that this Thomas Lodge, M.D. is the same person with Thomas Lodge, M.D., son of Sir Thomas, who in 1612 placed a monument to the memory of his brother, Nicholas Lodge, in the church of Rolleston, in Nottinghamshire. One Thomas Lodge, M.D., of those times, married the widow of Solomon Aldred. There is a good deal to be cleared up before we can be said to have an authentic account of this remarkable man. His *Rosalind* will for ever connect his name with Shakespeare, as the circumstance that he is the Alcon of the *Colin Clout* connects it with Spenser: and he is, moreover, the first, or nearly the first, of English satirists, and the author of many lyrical pieces of great smoothness and beauty.

Or sweetest Shakespeare, fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild.

And when Edward Philips, his nephew, in the *Theatrum Poetarum*, speaks of Shakespeare under the prompting, as is reasonably thought, of Milton, he says, that "he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance." I am not for interpreting these words in too literal a spirit, but when we read them the first play that presents itself is *As You Like It*.

The particular impression which he took from these "Delphic lines" may be traced particularly in that fine ode, one of the first heirs of his invention, the *Hymn on Christ's Nativity*. Who can doubt that when he wrote

Only with speeches fair
She wooes the gentle air,
To hide her guilty front with innocent snow,

that he remembered the words of Jaques,

And the big round tears
Coursed one another down his innocent nose :

and it is hard to say which poet has made the most felicitous application of an epithet, in both connections so peculiar.

Shakespeare has

The fair, the chaste, the unexpressive she ;

from which Milton transplants the rare word which is found in it—

The helmed cherubim,
And sworded seraphim,
Are seen in glittering ranks with wings displayed,
Harping in loud and solemn choir
With unexpressive notes to heaven's new-born heir.

He uses it again in *Lycidas*,

And hears the unexpressive nuptial song
In the blest kingdom meek of joy and love.

We are reminded of another passage in this play when we read in the same transcendent elegy,

Of other care they little reckoning make,
Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast ;

where *Corin* says,

And little reck to find the way to heaven
By doing deeds of hospitality.

How could it be otherwise than that this play would lay hold on such a mind as *Milton's*, when it was first put into the state in which it could be perused in silence and solitude, in the wild wood, or by the haunted stream, at the time when *Milton* was in his sixteenth year, and living in one of the chosen seats of the *Muses*. What a beautiful work might be written on the influence of former generations of the great masters on those which succeed.

Milton was not only among the first to do homage to *Shakespeare* by thus interweaving words or sentiments from him with his own conceptions, but he was among the first to pay a public tribute to his genius. The Verses "on *Shakespeare*," are dated by himself, 1630 ; but they were not printed till two years afterwards, when they appeared in the second folio. They are the earliest printed writing of *Milton*. A question might be raised by those who are desirous to know every thing that belongs to *Shakespeare* or *Milton*, how the lines found their way to *Allott*, and became printed by him in his edition. No decisive answer will, it is probable, ever be returned : but it may be ob-

served that there were several near connections of Allott, the stationer, living in the University of Cambridge at the time when Milton was studying there.*

As Milton has rendered homage to this play, so has Shakespeare in this play rendered homage to an earlier poet.

Dead shepherd ! now I find thy saw of might—
 "Whoever loved that loved not at first sight."

The reference is to the *Hero and Leander* of Marlowe, as the commentators have shewn us. There is an evident feeling of regard in the lines, a looking back to the melancholy end of that imprudent and unhappy man.

To return to the more particular illustration of this play.

* In a note to my *Disquisition on the Tempest*, printed in 1839, I introduced an original anecdote of Milton; exceedingly interesting in itself and of some importance to his biography: but as it appears to have received no attention, and the venerable and learned editor of the poetical works of Milton has since then recast and republished his very valuable life of the poet without having taken any notice of it, I hope to be excused if I repeat the anecdote in this place. Mr. Todd says, that "It is certain he also declined the law." It is also certain that he had once a serious intention of entering on the study, for there was lately in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Stedman, a clergyman who some years ago resided at Bath, a copy of the *Natura Brevium*, Tottel's edition, 1584, on a fly-leaf of which was written in Milton's own fair calligraphy,

Joh'es Milton : me possidet.
 Det Christus stndiis vela secunda meis.

This is of itself sufficiently interesting; but it is rendered more so by the appearance below of another line in another hand,

Det Christus stndiis vela secunda tuis,

which we can scarcely doubt to have been that of his father, with whose handwriting I am not acquainted. The book has also the name "John Marston" written in it, as that of a former possessor.

The volume was presented to the Rev. Mr. Stedman, of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Joshua Eddowes, a bookseller of that town; to whose hands it is believed to have come from the effects of Mrs. Elisabeth Milton, (originally Elizabeth Minshull,) the poet's third wife, who survived him fifty-four years, and died at Nantwich in 1729.

THE SEVEN AGES.—This, like the Allegory in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, has been the subject of much annotation in the editions of Shakespeare, and has had express treatises written in illustration of it. Yet I venture to think that there is room for further remark, and that even the text has not yet been settled so perfectly as, in such a passage as this, repeated by every tongue, we have a right to expect.

Let us first observe the way in which it is introduced. It is not uncalled-for by the circumstance of the drama. Either this or something like it was wanted to fill up the time while Orlando was gone to find and bring in Adam. And what more proper could have been introduced? The words of the Duke,

Thou seest we are not all alone unhappy :
This wide and universal theatre
Presents more woful pageants than the scene
Wherein we play in,

arise naturally out of the appearance of Orlando in his forlorn state and desperate mood, and the speech of Jaques as naturally follows, and is in fact to a great degree an expansion of the sentiment to which the Duke had given utterance. When he has finished, Orlando enters with Adam. This is the setting of the gem, and produces the same effect as a handsome frame to a good picture.

Familiar as the passage is I shall present it at large, giving it in what appears to me the just punctuation and regulation.

All the world's a Stage,
And all the men and women merely players :
They have their *exits* and their entrances ;
And one man in his time plays many parts—
His Acts being Seven Ages. At first, the Infant
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms ;

Then the whining School-boy, with his satchel
 And shining morning face, creeping like snail
 Unwillingly to school : and then the Lover,
 Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
 Made to his mistress's eye-brow : Then a Soldier,
 Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard ;
 Jealous in honour ; sudden ; and quick in quarrel ;
 Seeking the bubble—"Reputation" !
 Even in the cannon's mouth : And then the Justice,
 In fair round belly with good capon lin'd ;
 With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
 Full of wise saws, and modern instances—
 And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
 Into the lean and slipper'd Pantaloon ;
 With spectacles on nose, and pouch on side ;
 His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide
 For his shrunk shank ; and his big manly voice,
 Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
 And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
 That ends this strange eventful history,
 Is Second Childishness and mere oblivion ;
 Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans—everything !

In adjusting this passage so as to make it convey as completely as possible the mind of the author, I have placed a semi-colon after the word "sudden," where in no modern editions is there any stop at all. Yet one is necessary that we may not suppose the sense of "sudden" to pass over to the next clause, so as to become "sudden in quarrel : " while "sudden" really stands absolutely. It is the same word which we have in *Macbeth*,

I grant him sudden—

and it seems to be nearly equivalent to *vehement*, or *violent*, or *hasty*, or perhaps still more exactly *prompt in executing a resolve*.* And this suggests what is a new, but probably

* It is thus used by Botero : "The French is of so sudden and busy disposition, that he quickly yields to that a man demands, being soon tired with messages to and fro, and other delays peculiar to the Spaniards." *Relation of the most famous Kingdoms*, 4to, 1630, p. 193.

the true, sense of the clause "quick in quarrel," *adroit in the duello*, not merely quick and spirited in any dispute.* If the point at "sudden" required justification from authority, the original text has a comma after the word. I have printed reputation with a capital letter on the same authority, but I have also printed it thus—"Reputation," regarding it as here a favourite word of soldiers, at which the cynical Jaques means to sneer, speaking it as a quotation in a contemptuous manner. Thus Peacham:—"If they chance to go into the Netherlands, and perhaps get to be gentleman of a company but of three weeks' standing, then at their return, among their companions they must be styled by the name of Captain, they must stand upon that airy title and mere nothing called *Reputation*, undertake every quarrel, or become seconds to them that will." (*Truth of our Times*, p. 140.) And so in an admirable little work entitled *Vade Mecum*, of which the third edition was printed in 1638, "The French in a battle before Moncountre, standing upon their *Reputation*, not to dislodge by night, lost their reputation indeed, by dislodging by day, and were enforced to fight upon great disadvantage." (p. 177) This is sufficient to shew that there was a military and kind of technical use of the word, such as might provoke a satirist, and in this sense it is that Jaques uses it, meaning to deride it. Shakespeare has in this play still more pointed satire on the affected punctilio of the military profession.

* No doubt instances might easily be found of *quarrel* being used as equivalent to *duel* in the time of Shakespeare. I give one more modern instance from an inscription on a tablet affixed to the wall of a church in Beverley :

Here two young Danish soldiers lie :
The one in quarrel chanced to die :
The other's head by their own law
With sword was sever'd at one blow.

December 23, 1689.

I have restored the comma from the original edition after the "wise saws," because it seems that it aids in determining the true sense of the line about which there have been disputes, however needless they may be thought. By "wise saws," the poet means what Hamlet calls "saws of books," apothegms and brief lessons of moral wisdom, with which the prosing justices of the time were apt to interpolate their discourse; while "modern instances" were cases recently decided, judgments lately given.* There is thus such a diversity between them, that a comma is required to suggest a pause in the reading.

But, leaving this verbal criticism, let us look for a moment upon this passage as a whole. It is familiarly known that both the leading ideas, namely, the distribution of the life of man in seven periods, and the likening that life to the scenes of a drama, have their germ in some of the earliest memorials of the thoughts and feelings of cultivated man. The former of these may be traced to Proclus and Hippocrates. The merit of Shakespeare is not then that he invented this distribution, but that he has exhibited it more brilliantly, more impressively, than had ever been done before. The beauty and tenderness of the thought that life is a kind of drama with intermingling scenes of joy and sorrow, together with the justness of the sentiment, would have kept this for ever in the public view: but the multitude would probably by this time have wholly lost sight of the distribution of life into periods, if it had not been embalmed in these never-to-be-forgotten lines.

* Mr. Collier explains "modern instances" by "common instances." What "common instances" are, I know not; but what Shakespeare meant is I deem unquestionable. "It was ruled so and so at the late assizes for the county of Gloucester"; or, "This point was decided last term in the Court of King's Bench"; favourite expressions no doubt, whether we regard the Justice as seated in his own hall, or in his higher glory on the bench at the Quarter Sessions.

If it be asked how Shakespcare became acquainted with this distribution of human life, since he certainly did not read Proclus or Hippocrates, nor yet Prudentius or Isidore, it might be sufficient to answer that the notion floated in society, that it was part of the traditionary inheritance of all, which was no doubt the case.

But if a printed authority likely to have met his eye is wanted, we may refer to *The French Academy* of Peter de la Primaudaye, of which an English translation was published in 1598. In that work there is a chapter entitled, "Of the Division of the Ages of Man." He makes only six periods, following Isidore in this :

Infancy and Childhood—ending at seven,
Youth, from seven to fourteen,
Adolescency, from fourteen to twenty-eight,
Manhood, from twenty-eight to fifty,
Old age, from fifty to seventy.

but he adds, that some reckon a seventh, which he calls decrepit or bed-rid age.

Another author, contemporary with Shakespeare, Sir John Ferne, makes the following distribution, which suits the English constitution better than that which the Frenchman has given us, and approaches not only much nearer to the distribution by Shakespeare, but is nearly identical with it. His distribution is this :

Infancy, to seven,
Boyhood, from seven to fourteen,
Youth, from fourteen to twenty,
"Lusty Green Youth," from twenty to thirty,
Manhood, from thirty to forty,
Old-Age,
Decrepit Old Age.

Shakespeare's, however, differs, and he may be with fair presumption supposed to have exhibited the distribution thus :

Infancy, to four,
 Boyhood, from four to fifteen,
 Age of Affection, from fifteen to twenty-four,
 Active Life, from twenty-four to forty-four,
 Quiet Activity, from forty-four to sixty-four,
 Old-Age from sixty-four to seventy-four,
 Decrepit Old Age—till Death closes the scene *

It is the great beauty of Shakespeare that he does not give us cold abstractions, but the living figures. The blood circulates through them; it may be quickly or sluggishly, but the life-blood is there. They are personations of the abstract idea, borrowed from what was the actual life of many Englishmen of the better class in his time, who went to the wars and returned to execute the duties and enjoy the quiet majesty of the country justice.

A nice critic might, however, raise the question how far it was proper thus to introduce the characters of Soldier and Justice, which are not common to all, with those accidents of life which belong to all conditions. It might be said that they are but spirited personations of the active and the sedate periods of manhood which are common to all: but the proper answer is, that Jaques was a courtier addressing courtiers, and he speaks therefore of human life as it appeared in one of their own class.

A more solid objection arises out of the slight confusion

* The reader may like to compare other distributions. Hippocrates places the intervals at 7, 14, 28, 35, 47, and 56. Proclus has Infancy to 4; Childhood 4 to 14; Adolescence 14 to 22; Young Manhood 22 to 42; Mature Manhood 42 to 57; Old Age 57 to 68; Decrepit Age 68 to the end of life. In a MS. English and Latin Dictionary compiled about the beginning of the 15 century (Harl. MS. 221) we have *Infancia* to 7; *Pueritia* to 14; *Adolescentia* to 29; *Juventus* to 50; *Gravitas* to 70; *Senectus*; *Senium*. In the *Lexicon Tetraglotton* of James Howell we have Infancy to 4; Childhood to 14; Adolescence to 22; Youth to 41; Manhood to 56; Old Age to 68; Decrepitude. Mr. Douce informs us that there is a division of the Seven Ages of Man in Arnolde's *Chronicles*, fol. lxx.; and also in Comenius. Life, however, and the activity of it, have both been materially extended, at least in England, since the time of Shakespeare.

in the use of the terms *Act*, *Scene*, and *Part*: but this is only one of many instances in which this free spirit has broken bounds in the rapidity of his movements, and has committed his fame to the general effect.

Seven "acts" are also two too many. There is a little poem attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh in which this difficulty is ingeniously overcome, and with this poem our remarks on this favourite passage will conclude:

Man's life 's a *tragedy*. His mother's womb
From which he *enters* is the *tyring-room*.
This spacious earth the *theatre*; and the *stage*
The country which he lives in. Passions, rage,
Folly and vice are *actors*. The first cry
The *prologue* to the ensuing *tragedy*.
The *former act* consisteth of dumb shows:
The *second* he to more perfection grows:
In the *third* he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice and act the deeds of sin.
In the *fourth* declines. In the *fifth* diseases clog
And trouble him. Then Death 's his *Epilogue*.

I find in the diary of a private person of the reign of Charles the Second that he went to see a company of country Thespians perform a piece entitled *The Seven Ages of Man*.

My remarks on particular words or brief passages will be few.

I. 2. LE BEAU.

More suits you to conceive than *me* to speak of.

The old copies read,

More suits you to conceive than *I* to speak of;

and it may be doubted whether the change, which is found in all the editions from Rowe to Mr. Collier, is made on a sound editorial principle. No doubt we should write the line as it is usually printed in these days; but in the time of Shakespeare what he wrote is the perfectly legitimate, and, if such a word is to be used, grammatical form, *I* being in many places

of these plays, as well as in the writings of other persons of the time, used as what is called the accusative case, that is, it was both the nominative and the accusative. Even now, when the freedom of our language has been so much curtailed by writers of grammars to whom the public have surrendered their judgment, such a phrase as "between you and I" would not absolutely convict a man of ignorance, nor would a person be ashamed of replying to the question "Who's there?"—"Me." At the utmost, it is idiomatic, and as it was an idiom which Shakespeare used, it ought, I think, to be retained. It is a quite different case from an old orthography, a palpable mistake of the author, or a corruption at the press. *He* and *him*, *who* and *whom*, are used by Shakespeare with the same freedom; not ignorantly, or ungrammatically, but according to the usage of the time, and the practice of the best speakers and writers, which is above all the rules of those called grammarians, who ought to look upon themselves but as the interpreters of the usage of the best who employ the language. The same may be said with respect to the double negatives and double superlatives with which the writings of Shakespeare abound. They may be justified by the usage; but if in any instance they could not be so justified, they possess a grace above the reach of art, a freedom in which a spirit like his may well be allowed to indulge.

II. 1. DUKE SENIOR.

Here feel we ~~not~~ the penalty of Adam,
 The season's difference; as the icy fang
 And churlish chiding of the winter's wind;
 Which, when it bites and blows upon my body,
 Even till I shrink with cold, I smile, and say
 This is no flattery; these are councillors
 That feelingly persuade me what I am.

But has generally been substituted for *not*. Mr. Caldecott, who printed this play with *Hamlet*, as a specimen of a new

edition, restored *not* from the old copies, though with some hesitation. Mr. Knight and Mr. Collier both read *not*, and, indeed, it is difficult to perceive that much is gained by the substitution of *but*. Read either *not* or *but*, and still the passage is perplexed. The commentators leave the reader to find out the meaning, or rather how the words express the meaning, for himself. Few will blame them who have made the trial of adjusting the words to the sentiment which the poet may be presumed to have intended to express, but has possibly been frustrated through the misfortune of having left his work to be published after his death, and with no revision from himself. Taking the text as we have it, I venture to suggest that the first part of the lines quoted should be read as an interrogative appeal to the companions of his banishment. "Here feel we not?"—"Do any of you say that we do not feel the severity of the wintry blast?" But "when it bites and blows upon my body, I, for my part, smile, and say this is no flattery," &c. I do not say that this takes up every word, but I think it approaches nearer to the poet's intention than anything that has been suggested. That "the penalty of Adam" is not the severities of winter, but the obligation to labour, as one of the modern editors suggests, or the being sensible to the difference between heat and cold, as another, leaves the passage as perplexed as ever. In the idea of Paradise before the fall has always been included that there was perpetual summer, or at least perpetual genial seasons—no winter's cold.

II. 2. SECOND LORD.

My Lord, the ROYNISH clown, at whom so oft
Your Grace was wont to laugh, is also missing.

I conceive *roynish* to mean obtrusive, troublesome, a fault we may well suppose often belonging to the poor unfortunates

who were retained in the houses of the great. This at least is one of the meanings of the word, and it seems to suit the passage quite as well as the disagreeable senses which all the editors, down to the latest, have given to it. Parkinson, speaking of plants suitable for borders for flower-beds, says of the germander that on account of its disposition to spread itself it must to be taken up and new set once in three or four years, "or else it will grow too *roynish* and troublesome."—*Paradisus Terrestris*, fol. 1629, p. 6.

II. 7. JAKUES.

A fool ! a fool !—I met a fool i' the forest,
A motley fool (a miserable world.)
As I do live by food, I met a fool.

There is perhaps no reason to disturb the text, the words in the parenthesis being taken as an expression used almost aside, and meant to convey the sense that this is but a miserable world, brought to the mind of Jaques by the sight of the unfortunate specimen of humanity whom he had just encountered ; but, if this be not thought a satisfactory explanation of the passage, there is a word which would suit it so well if substituted for "world," and which might so easily become changed into "world" that I cannot but think that it may have been what Shakespeare wrote, especially since this play, as already observed, has come to us in so corrupt a state. The word is "ort."

A motley fool ! a miserable ort !

"Ort," says Tooke, means "anything made vile or worthless ;" but it seems to contain the idea of remnant or fragment. Shakespeare uses it thus in *Troilus and Cressida* :

The fractions of her faith, *orts* of her love ;

and in *Timon of Athens*—"Where should he have this gold ? It is some poor fragment, some slender *ort* of his remainder."

Fragments of victuals were *orts*; so that the word may have led to the idea which next entered the mind of the poet :

As I do live by *food*, I met a fool.

and in the course of what he says of him he still keeps to the idea which the word *ort* would naturally introduce, and speaks of the clown's brains as

being dry as the remainder biscuit

After a voyage.

which was eminently an *ort*.

III. 2. TOUCHSTONE.

If a hart do lack a hind,
Let him seek out Rosalind, &c.

This is the very FALSE GALLOP of verses.

There may be readers of Shakespeare to whom the particular pace of the horse which is called the *false gallop* may not be known, and who, therefore, cannot perceive how happily Shakespeare has introduced it on this occasion. If, after perusing the following extract from a Dictionary of Equestrian Terms, the reader will turn to the verses mocked by Touchstone, he will see how exactly the term suits them :

FAUX, être faux, on galoper faux, se dit du cheval lorsqu'en galopant il lève la jambe gauche de devant la première, car il doit lever la droite la première. Aujourd'hui on est revenu de cet ancien principe que le cheval doit toujours galoper du pied droit ; lorsqu'il galope à droite, il doit partir du pied droit à gauche, il doit partir du pied gauche, c'est-à-dire, galoper également sur les deux pieds ; le galop seroit faux si galopant à droite il partoit du pied gauche, de même, galopant à gauche, si il partoit du pied droit ; et en allant droit, il doit galoper alternativement d'un pied et de l'autre, pour conserver ses jambes. *Dictionnaire Raisonné d'Hippiatrique*, &c. par M. Lafosse, 8vo. Bruxelles, 1776, vol. i. p. 334.

III. 2.

ROSALIND.—Time travels in divers paces with divers persons : I'll tell you who Time ambles withal, who Time trots withal, who Time gallops withal, and who he stands still withal.

ORLANDO.—I pray thee, who doth he trot withal ?

ROSALIND.—Marry, he trots hard with a young maid, between the contract of her marriage and the day it is solemnized: if the interim be but a se'nnight, Time's pace is so hard that it seems the length of seven years.

ORLANDO.—Who ambles Time withal?

ROSALIND.—With a priest that lacks Latin, and a rich man that hath not the gout; for the one sleeps easily because he cannot study; and the other lives merrily because he feels no pain: the one lacking the burden of lean and wasteful learning; the other knowing no burden of heavy tedious penury: these Time ambles withal.

This portion of this very sprightly dialogue appears to have undergone dislocation at a very early period, for the old copies and the new are alike. To *trot hard*, at least in the present use of the phrase, is a rapid motion, only just below the gallop. How, then, can it be said that Time "trots hard" when a se'nnight seems as long as seven years? A slow motion is intended, such as is meant by the word *ambling*.

Again, Time passes swiftly with the easy priest and the luxurious rich man who is free from gout. He "trots hard" with them.

And that this transposition is required appears from the order in which Rosalind proposed to shew the divers paces of Time with divers persons: 1. *ambling*; 2. *trotting*; 3. *galloping*. I would therefore propose to regulate the passage thus:

ORLANDO.—I prythee who ambles Time withal?

ROSALIND.—Marry, he ambles with a young maid, &c. Time's pace is so *ambling*, &c.

ORLANDO.—Who doth he trot withal?

ROSALIND.—With a priest that lacks Latin, &c. These Time trots withal.

If this is not accepted we are driven to the supposition that when Shakespeare speaks of "trotting hard" a slow motion is intended, and that *ambling* denotes a swift motion, neither of which can, I think, be maintained.

III. 4. ROSALIND.

His very hair is of the dissembling colour.

That certain colours of the hair were supposed to indicate

particular dispositions was an opinion of the time, as may be seen at large in *The Shepherd's Calendar*, not Spenser's beautiful poem so entitled, but the medley of moral and natural philosophy, of verse and prose, which, under that title, was a favourite book of the common people in the reigns of the Tudors. "A man that hath black hair, we are told, and a red beard, signifies to be lecherous, disloyal, a vaunter, and one ought not to trust in him." This notion of the middle ages has been revived in our day. There was published not long ago a list of persons who had been executed at Chester for murder during the last fifty or sixty years, with notices of the *colour of the hair* and the *complexion* of each, when it could be recovered.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, not that Shakespeare should have founded this play upon an earlier one on the same argument, but that, having resolved to do so, and finding that play with an induction, he imitated the induction also. It seems to intimate that he had himself something to do with the original play, and there are portions of it which are neither unlike the manner of Shakespeare, nor wholly unworthy of him.

The play as we now have it was not printed till it appeared in the folio of 1623. Of the earlier play three editions are known. The earliest is of the year 1594, "printed at London by Peter Short, and are to be sold by Cuthbert Burbie at his shop at the Royal Exchange." It is said in the title to have been sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants. The only copy known of this edition was in the library of Mr. Heber, who obtained it from Mr. Inglis's collection. In the Sale Catalogue of Mr. Heber's library it is No. 2024 of the Fourth Part. At the sale it was bought by Mr. Rodd for, I believe, £95. Mr. Collier informs us that it is now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire.

Mr. Collier also informs us that there is a copy of an edition dated 1596 in the library of Lord Francis Egerton.

It was again reprinted in 1607 "by V. S. for Nicholas Ling." This is the edition of which there is a copy in the two volumes published by Mr. Nichols, entitled "*Six Old Plays on which Shakespeare founded his Measure for Measure*," &c. 12mo. 1779. It purports to be printed "without departure from the originals."

Shakespeare's play, as it appears in the folio, was separately printed in quarto in 1631. Of this edition there is a reprint in Steevens' Collection of the Quartos (vol. ii.).

If it is thought an object of any importance to determine the scene of the induction, one of the best guides to the knowledge of *Wincot* is that in the time of Sir Aston Cockayne, whose poems were collected in a volume in 1659, it was the residence or the property of Mr. Clement Fisher, who was doubtless of the Baronet family of that name, whose chief seat was at Packington in Warwickshire. See the short poem which Cockayne addressed to him, alluding to this induction, in *Boswell's Malone*, vol. v. p. 352.

One of the most interesting circumstances about this play is that when Shakespeare in the fourth act introduces an incident which is not in the old play he takes it from Ariosto's comedy entitled *Il Suppositi*, as translated by Gascoigne; which shews that he had a value for Ariosto, and renders more probable that he had an eye to the Orlando when he wrote certain parts of *The Tempest*. The resemblance between certain portions of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Supposes* of Gascoigne* was pointed out first, I believe, by Dr. Farmer, who observes that it was from *The Supposes* that he got the name Petruchio, which he substituted for Ferando, the name of the corresponding character in the old play. Mr. Malone adds that it was there also that he found the name of Licio. Then comes Tyrwhitt, who suggests that the word *supposes* in the line—

While counterfeit supposes blear'd thioe eyne—

* This is a memorable name among the poets of the Elizabethan period, and he is one of whom we know more than of most of his contemporaries of the same class, having the benefit of Whetstone's poetical tract relating to his life and death, and of the researches of Aethony Wood—excellent preludes to the labour of later inquirers into the history of the poets of that period. The outline is

is in allusion to the title of Gascoigne's play. The same idea seems to have occurred to Mr. Collier, but he is mistaken in saying that it had not been observed before.

this: In his youth he displeased his father by some excesses, and was disinherited. He goes to the wars, returns, and devotes himself to literature; suffers from disappointments of various kinds, becomes deeply serious; his health declines, and he dies in 1577, when he could scarcely have attained his fortieth year.

I have become acquainted with a new fact in the history of Gascoigne of some importance. He married the mother of a Nicholas Breton, whom there is the strongest reason to believe to be the poet of that name. Her original name was Elizabeth Bacon, the daughter of John Bacon, a citizen of London, and her former husband was William Breton, also a Londoner, who had considerable property in London and elsewhere. This William Breton made his will on February 19, 1557, in which he names five children—Richard, Nicholas, Thamar, Anne, and Mary, and died January 12, 1559. The widow had married Gascoigne before October 27, 1568, on which day a jury at Guildhall, before the Lord Mayor, in pursuance of a writ of *mandamus*, found the facts above recited. The holding of this inquest appears to have been part of law proceedings, the object of them being to take the control of the property belonging to the young Bretons, then all minors, out of the hands of Gascoigne and the mother.

Gascoigne was the son of a knight, Sir John Gascoigne, of Cardington, in the county of Bedford, and hence it is that we almost always find his name with the addition "armiger." In the well-known portrait of him he has the luec's head upon a pale on his breast, the armorial insignia of the great family of Gascoigne of Yorkshire. His was a younger branch of the family, sprung from James, the third son of Sir William the Judge, according to Richard Gascoigne's account of the family. The mother of the poet was a coheir of Scargel of Yorkshire, and it was through the Scargels that he was related to Frobisher the voyager, a fact to which he himself alludes in the Preface to the *Discourse of a Discovery of a new Passage to Cataia, written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight*, 4to. 1576.

While this presents new and good information respecting Gascoigne, it also, with the highest probability, shews us the origin of Nicholas Breton, a point hitherto not only not understood but misrepresented. It sets aside the notion that the poet of this name is the same person with a Captain Nicholas Breton who died in 1624, and has a monument in the church of Norton in Northamptonshire; that Nicholas being the son of a Captain John Breton. (Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. i. p. 417.) The Bretons, to whom Gascoigne's step-son really belonged, may be seen in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, vol. iv., where, however, the poet's name is by mistake given as *Richard*. There is great uncertainty about all we have of Breton the poet. If we can trust the information of Madox he was educated at Oxford, and is therefore one of the Oxford writers whom

I. I. LUCENTIO.

I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy.

II. I. GREMIO.

That now is lying in Marseilles' road.

I place these two lines together, as they both illustrate

Anthony Wood, with all his diligence, and it was admirable, has overlooked. "1582, March 24.—I dined with Mr. Carlike at his brother Hudson's, who is Governor of Antwerp. There was Mr. Britten, once of Oriel college, which made *Wil's Will*: he speaketh the Italian well." (Sloane MS. 5008.) But the great confusion in all that has been written of Breton arises from attributing to him all the poetry, and all the lighter tracts, which are said in their title-pages to be by "N. B.," or which have these letters as the initial letters of the author's name affixed to the dedications, or other preliminary matter. This has led, in particular, to the attributing to him the poetical tract entitled *Sir Philip Sidney's Ourania*, 1606. This tract contains many particulars of the author's own history, who had evidently been a tutor of Sir Philip Sidney.

Art thou, quoth he, my tutor Tergaster?
He answered, Yea, such was my happy chance:
I grieve, quoth Astrophel, at this disaster,
But Fates deny me learning to advance:
Yet Cynthia shall afford thee maintenance:
My dearest sister, keep my tutor well,
For in his element he doth excell.

Astrophel and Cynthia are Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke.

The writer of this poem (hitherto supposed to be Breton) was evidently a clergyman. His poetical name is Endymion.

And now comes ereeping old Endymion, &c.

Again,

Mourning Endymion in obscurity.

And we have an evident reason why he gives himself this name. He lived at the place called Troy.

In Troy town, situate in Cambria,
There dwelt this shepherd of a gentle race,
Near fronting upon great Montgomery . . .
There did this gentle shepherd feed his flock.

This suggested to me the probability that something might be learned respecting the author of this poem by inquiries respecting Troy: and I soon found

the same truth, namely, that by accommodating the text to the changes in pronunciation, which are constantly going on in a living and spoken language, we destroy something of

that there was at the time when this poem was printed an incumbent of Troy, whose name was Nathaniel Baxter.

This name is not noticed by the writers of the life of Sir Philip Sidney, by the collectors for the biography of English Poets, or, as far as I can find, by Meres, or any of his contemporaries who have enumerated English writers of verse. Yet there cannot be a doubt that he is the "N. B." the author of *Sir Philip Sidney's Ourania*, a poem, therefore, with which Breton could have no connection.

Nathaniel Baxter compounded for his First Fruits on entering on the living of Troy on May 26, 1602. With the name of the author thus before us, we are at no loss to understand the propriety of the name *Tergaster*, which Sir Philip Sidney appears sportively to have given to his tutor,—that is, *Back-ster*. We find, indeed, a more direct allusion to his name where, speaking of an enemy of his, he says,

Baxtero-mastix may disparage me.

Notwithstanding the silence of all writers, early and modern, respecting this person, there is no room for the slightest doubt that his name is to be added to the verse-writers of the period in which Shakespeare and Spenser flourished, that he must hereafter find a place among those who nurtured the noble spirit of a Sidney, and that he is to be added to the Oxford writers, as I conceive, being tutor to Sidney, he must have been connected with that university. It is also quite clear that the *Ourania* must hereafter be removed from the long list of writings attributed to Nicholas Breton, and it is extremely probable that others which have been attributed to him on the strength of the interpretation of the initial letters of the author's name must be removed also.

I am conscious that there is little in this which can be regarded as illustrative of Shakespeare; but the matter of this note is curious in itself, and may prevent mistakes, should the *Ourania* ever be quoted in connection with him. We have the following unnoticed allusion to Tarlton the great comic actor in the *Ourania*:

But tell me is not this a golden age,
When rascals ride in golden equipage
With princely lords and men of highest blood,
As Tarlton did in Caesar's golden hood.

There are works in divinity by Nathaniel Baxter, with his name at full: and in one of them, Calvin's *Lectures on Jonah*, translated by him, 1578, there is a poem by him, entitled *The Complaint*.

the melody. These two lines are so harsh, that I am persuaded Shakespeare would never have written them, but would have found out some other way of expressing what he intended. But as he wrote them, there was nothing of this harshness : they were even soft and harmonious lines :

I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy.

And again,

That now is lying in Marsellis' road.

In editing Shakespeare, in such a case as this, I should not hesitate to print the proper names as they were printed in his own time, and so as to suggest the pronunciation which beyond question he intended should be given to them.

Padua being in Lombardy, the sense requires that we should read *in* instead of *for*.

I. I. TRANIO.

Only, good master, while we do admire
This virtue and this moral discipline,
Let's be no Stoicks, nor no stocks, I pray ;
Or so devote to Aristotle's checks,
As Ovid he an outcast quite ahjur'd.
BALK logic, with' acquaintance which you have ;
And practice rhetoric, in your common talk :
Musick and poesy use to quicken you :
The mathematics and the metaphysics,
Fall to them as you find your stomach serves you :
No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en :
In brief, sir, study what you most affect.

Mr. Collier, as others have done before him, prints

Talk logic with acquaintance which you have ;

And adds as a note—"Old copies, *balk*. Corrected by Rowe." He ought to have said depraved by Rowe ; for whoever has the right conception of the effect of these lines, which is indeed plain enough, must perceive that *balk*, not *talk*, was the

word Shakespeare used, and which alone would express his meaning.

Tranio is an unfaithful tutor, counselling his pupil to forbear the severer studies, or to take them up just as suits his humour. If he study Aristotle, yet not to abandon Ovid: to give the go-by to logic, as satisfied with the acquaintance he has already gained with it: as for rhetoric, not to employ himself in preparing orations, as exercises, according to its rules, but to consider his common conversation as quite sufficient exercise in that art. Musick and poetry he recommends to him, and suggests that he may, if necessary, plead that he applies to them as stimulants of his genius: and as to mathematics and metaphysics, he suggests that he may apply to them when his inclination turns towards them, suggesting the excuse for the neglect of them, that he may say, there is really no use in studying anything in which the mind takes no pleasure.

The word *balk*, in this sense, is not yet quite gone out of use, though probably excluded from the vocabulary of the cultivated. Yet it was formerly in as good usage as any other of our verbs. Thus in Harington's *Ariosto*,

But when the sun began the earth to *balk*,
And pass into the t'other hemisphere.—xxxiv. 68.

And Wase, in his *Cynogeticon*—

“We know that if one set up a piece of white paper, it will make the deer blench, and *balk* that way.”—p. 77.

But see Johnson, who has many instances of its use.

With' for *with the* is extremely common in Shakespeare, but it is not absolutely required in this passage.

This, it may be observed, is one of the cases in which the editors have given us a *readable* text, and few would suspect that a far better text lay concealed in the original editions.

Blackstone's suggestion of "Aristotle's Ethics," for "Aristotle's Checks," is so plausible and so happy, that it must place an editor in doubt at least concerning the propriety of adhering, where any sense is to be made of it, to the original printed text.

III. 2. BAPTISTA.

Go, girl, I cannot blame thee now to weep,
For such an injury would vex a VERY saint,
Much more a shrew of thy impatient humour.

Thus Mr. Collier and the editors of the Variorum, to the neglect of the far better reading of the folio of 1632,

For such an injury would vex a saint.

But there is no end of pointing out errors and misjudgments respecting the text.

Yet one more may be given,

V. 2. KATHARINE.

It blots thy beauty, as frosts do hite the meads.

It is really subject for just amazement that the reading of the second folio should not have been preferred, unless indeed the principle were laid down that its readings should be invariably disregarded,

It blots thy beauty as frosts hite the meads.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

This is one of the plays of which there is not the slightest trace of their existence till they appear in the posthumous folio of 1623.

Dr. Farmer, indeed, conjectured that this was the play which appears in Meres' list with the title *Love Labours Won*, but he only casually states this as a conjecture, and assigns no reason whatever for the opinion. In my remarks upon *The Tempest* I have assigned reasons which to my mind are sufficient (1) for thinking that *The Tempest* is the play named by Meres; and (2) that if not *The Tempest* it is not *All's Well that Ends Well*, the play itself containing decisive indications that it was to bear the title under which it has come down to us. See them collected at p. 132.

Mr. Collier, in his Introduction to this play, referring to the *Disquisition on The Tempest*, in which there was the attempt made to identify *The Tempest* with *Love Labours Won*, says, "I do not think that Mr. Hunter has made out his case satisfactorily, and in our Introduction to 'The Tempest,' some reasons will be found for assigning that play to the year 1610 or 1611." I listen and am instructed by Mr. Collier when he lays before us new facts in the literary history of the period to which these writings belong, but I am not disposed to submit to his judgment when determining amidst doubtful readings, or when drawing conclusions from the comparison of facts: and in particular in respect of this question I feel confident that the "reasons" here referred to for assigning *The Tempest* to 1610 or 1611 are wholly in-

valid. But whether I have made out the case satisfactorily with respect to *Love Labours Won* being *The Tempest* is beside the purpose in this place, the real question being whether I had shewn sufficient reasons for the *Love Labours Won* not being the *All's Well that Ends Well*. This is the "case" which, as respects the play before us, I had to make out, and whether it is done "satisfactorily" or not, the reader must judge.

As far as I understand Mr. Collier's argument, he seems rather to agree with me, but is unwilling to admit the truth, because it is a very material step towards proving *The Tempest* to be *Love Labours Won*, and so to have existed in 1598, to shew that the *All's Well* is not the play; because if the *All's Well* is excluded, there remains no other play of Shakespeare's except *The Tempest* that can for a moment be supposed to be the play named by Meres. But Mr. Collier has a theory by which he thinks that the fact of the *All's Well* so plainly bespeaking its own title can be reconciled with the opinion that it was the play named by Meres in 1598. This theory is, that the play was written at twice; and that the passages in which we have so plain an allusion to the title were added on some second revision, or re-writing of the play, which he thinks may have taken place about 1605 or 1606. I wish that we had some kind of evidence that this was the case. To me the play appears woven in one piece; at least I perceive no greater difference between the early and the later scenes, than there is between the first and the fifth act of many of the plays; and before Mr. Collier had adopted this mode of getting over a difficulty, which on my theory does not exist, it would have been but proper deference to the public if he had given something in the way of proof that certain acts or scenes were supplanted by others, which we can hardly conceive to be much to be preferred to

those which, on Mr. Collier's hypothesis, were withdrawn, and in fact that part of the play was written in or before 1598, and part seven or eight years afterwards.

Mr. Collier, however, supports his opinion of the double writing of this play by the authority of Coleridge and Tieck. Far from me to disparage the critical powers of Mr. Coleridge; but in his remarks on the chronological order of these plays, and indeed in anything of his connected with the *history* of them, there is so much uncertainty and inconsistency in the posthumous publications of his remarks, either from his manuscripts or from the recollections of those who attended his lectures, that the mind is left in doubt whether he had any settled determinate opinions on the subject at all. Yet if we allow that there are marks of two different periods of composition, this would be very far from proving that it had once appeared with the title of *Love Labours Won*, and was then brought out some years after as *All's Well that Ends Well*. As to the ingenious foreigner whose name Mr. Collier has introduced into this argument, every person will rejoice to see the minds of the ingenious and the learned of other nations turned to the elucidation of the literature of this country, but it is hardly just to them to interpose them as authorities in controverted questions concerning such peculiar writings as these, when they arise among critics at home.

A person who has paid attention to this department of literary history will have learned to pay little regard to *authority*, and as little to *opinion*, even though names really great follow. He must be content to feel his own insignificance while he seeks out the truth amidst the slight, obscure, and imperfect hints which are all that can be found to throw any light on the subject of his investigations. The whole

subject of the chronological order is still open, and I doubt not that juster views than those now taken on some of the points will open upon future inquirers, as fresh facts are brought to light, with which facts already known may be collated, and thence other conclusions be drawn. But if here authority and opinion are to be made to lead to the determination of a question that is really of considerable importance, if anything is of importance in respect of the history of the composition of these plays, let us look for a moment to the conclusions at which the two great critics in respect of the chronological order arrived respecting the date of this play. Mr. Malone and Mr. Chalmers are of course the two critics intended.

When Mr. Malone first published his essay on the chronological order, he adopted Dr. Farmer's suggestion that the *All's Well* is the play named as Shakespeare's by Meres in 1598, and he placed it under that year. He gave no kind of reason for doing so, but left the fact just as Dr. Farmer had left it: perplexing the subject, however, by introducing a conjecture that this play is one performed at court in 1613 under the name of *A Bad Beginning makes a Good Ending*, and then adding some remarks on divers titles being given to the same play. But Mr. Malone, with the true spirit of a man who was devoted to literature, and who meant only to give what appeared to him the right view of the subject on which he wrote, and knowing that he could afford to acknowledge himself in a mistake, afterwards acknowledged that he came to the conclusion unadvisedly, for that this ~~was~~ a later play than he had previously supposed; and he assigns it to the year 1606. I do not enter into his reasons for fixing upon that year, nor should I wholly assent to them. What is meant now is only to shew that, if authority

or opinion is to be regarded in questions of this nature, we have Mr. Malone determining that this play could not be the *Love Labours Won* of Meres.

Mr. Chalmers also decides against the play having existed so early as 1598, which is in effect to say that it cannot be the *Love Labours Won*. See *Supplementary Apology*, p. 376. His date is 1599.

I should now leave the subject, believing that the reader has already heard enough of *Love Labours Won*, except that I must not pass by Mr. Knight's elaborate Introduction to this play in the *Pictorial Edition*, in which he controverts my argument, but on grounds very different from those of Mr. Collier. Mr. Collier has recourse to the supposition that the play was written in some other manner in or before 1598, and then produced with the title *Love Labours Won*: afterwards new scenes are introduced in 1605 or 1606, when the title is changed, and the passages inwoven in which there is an allusion to the new title. Mr. Knight, on the other hand, is of opinion that the play as we have it originally appeared with a double title, *Love Labours Won*; or *All's Well that Ends Well*, by which the title in Meres, and the allusions in the play to the proverb used for its title are reconciled. He also endeavours to shew that the meaning of the title *Love Labours Won* suits the action of the *All's Well*, the love labours being the efforts of Helena to attain her object of union with Bertram. My theory is that there is not, nor ever was, any reason for supposing that this play is the *Love Labours Won*, that the *Love Labours Won* is another play, and that the *All's Well* was written some time after 1598, but that at present the precise date of it cannot be ascertained. I should be inclined to refer it to 1599 or 1600, that being the time when Shakespeare appears to have been most in the humour for attacking the Puritans.

A character enters towards the close of this play who is called a gentle astringer. Perhaps a word or two more than the commentators have given us is necessary for the just apprehension of the kind of person intended. No doubt an astringer is a person who has the care of hawks; but gentle does not, I conceive, here mean, as Steevens represents it, either a gentleman, or an astringer who was of gentle condition or gentle manners, but an astringer having the care of the species of hawk called gentles, the "tiercel gentle" of *Romeo and Juliet*.

A custom connected with the dramatic art is alluded to in the third scene of the fourth act: "he hath led the drum before the English tragedians." Of the practice of itinerant performers giving notice of their arrival in a country town by beat of drum, we have an instance in the annals of the town of Doncaster, where, in 1684, the actors' drum going round the town, a party of military then stationed there took offence at it, and a serious riot was the consequence.

I had intended to rescue Shakespeare from the imputation of having written the nonsense which we find in the following passage in Mr. Collier's edition; and in the *Variorum*:

DIANA.— Alas, poor lady!
 'Tis a hard bondage, to become the wife
 Of a detesting lord.

WIDOW.—I write good creature: wheresoe'er she is,
 Her heart weighs sadly.—Act iii. Sc. 5.

but I find myself anticipated by Mr. Dyce. It is quite clear that Shakespeare wrote

Aye, right:—Good creature! wheresoe'er she is,
 Her heart weighs sadly.

TWELFTH NIGHT, OR WHAT YOU WILL.

In May, 1828, being about to resort to London for the purpose of enjoying a fortnight's miscellaneous reading at the British Museum, I prepared myself by a selection in the catalogues of manuscripts of those which promised to afford the most of instruction and amusement: and, being at that time much intent on illustrating the writings of Shakespeare, I looked particularly for any manuscript from which it might be supposed that any ray of light might be shed upon any of them.

Amongst others in the catalogue of the Harleian portion of the library, I observed one which was thus described in the catalogue:

"5353.—A small Paper-Book of various Collections, dated 1601-3.

- 1 Epigrams and Devices.
- 2 Abstracts of Sermons, Notes from Books, &c.
- 3 A Diary, beginning January 1, 1601, to February 24, ditto.
- 4 The Diary resumed, May 1602, with many Abstracts from Sermons; also Verses and Miscellaneous Remarks; Extracts from Poems, &c.

Who was the writer does not appear."

This is, to say the least, a very un-scholarlike description, and is something very different from that which the learned and truly admirable person who now presides over this department would have given of it. And when the manu-

script was produced to me, I found that the binder had formed no more just conception of its real nature, for that it was lettered—"Abstracts of Sermons: 1601,—2,—3." After a very attentive examination of this volume, which turned out to be one of great curiosity and interest, I can state that its real character is this:—It is a Diary or Journal, not day by day, but with long and frequent intervals, beginning at Christmas 1601, and continuing to April 14, 1603, a period of rather more than fifteen months. The person whose journal it is was a great frequenter of the Temple Church, and of the other churches in which were celebrated preachers,* and it was his practice, as it was also that of Thoresby of Leeds, at a later period, to enter in his journal skeletons or abstracts of the sermons which he heard, and it is that these occupy so large a space in the whole volume, that they have been regarded as giving the character to the book, and have thus led to the unfortunate, and to the many the repulsive, designation of it which it carries on its back. But, beside being a journal, the volume had another purpose; it served as a place of deposit for jokes, anecdotes, snatches of verse, epigrams, and other short metrical compositions, with occasional observations of the writer's own on men and manners, and there can be little doubt that the writer was accustomed to refresh his memory in these pages before he took his place at the dinner-table, that in fact, as to this part of it, it is what Bishop Hall describes,

A table-book,
To write down what again he may repeat
At some great table to deserve his meat.

* The preachers whom he heard were, Dr. Mounford, Mr. Downes, Mr. Philips, Mr. Manoes, of Peter House, Mr. Searchfield, Mr. Scott, Dr. Montague, Mr. Moore, of Baliol, Mr. Sanders, Dr. Andrews, Mr. Barker, Donne, Withers, Barlow, of Pembroke Hall, and others.

Such is the true character of the book: and, as the writer lived much in the world, mixing with divines, lawyers, politicians, poets, and players, it could scarcely be but that it would be found to contain many things which would now be perused with interest, however light and even foolish they might be at the time; and which we may wonder that a man of sense, and who had such a profession before him as the law, had either time or disposition to chronicle.

I resorted to it in the hope of finding something in it relating to Shakespeare, or some of his works; nor was I disappointed; for, to my great surprise and delight, I found the following entry, containing information perfectly new concerning one of the most favourite of the comedies, information which at a stroke overturned all the theories which had been formed respecting the period of the poet's life at which the play was produced, which opened a new and unsuspected origin of the plot, and at the same time, by shewing him to have been a reader of the Italian drama, opened a new class of writings to which to have recourse for the origins of his plays, no one having previously conducted us to the Italian stage for the origin of any of his plays. The passage correctly transcribed is this,

"1601 (that is 1601-2), Feb. 2. At our feast, wee had a play called Twelve Night, or What you Will. Much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus; but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the Steward heleeve his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady in generall termes, telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparraile, &c., and then when he came to practise making him beleieve they took him to be mad, &c."

I say correctly transcribed, for it has rarely been so. In-

deed, most of those who have lately noticed this passage have been content to follow Mr. Collier, who has misread the words and made deplorable havock of the sense. Instead of "prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparraile, &c." Mr. Collier gives the passage thus:—"prescribing his gestures, inscribing his apparraile, &c.," which verily is not less than utter nonsense, while the original is perfectly intelligible, and describes accurately the trick put upon Malvolio.*

I will not conceal that I regarded this as a very valuable discovery: one on which an investigator of literary antiquities might felicitate himself. The manuscripts of England are a mighty mass, and may be resembled to a mine, in which, however, there have been too many explorators to allow of much of the more precious or curious metal to be found. Discoveries in literature are, perhaps, of less importance than discoveries in science; but they are of the same class, and require the same preparation and the same habit of mind. And there is not, perhaps, a very wide difference between such a discovery as this, and that of some insignificant relation of quantities, or that a bird of a particular species has for once been known to build her nest in Britain.

Though I hold this to be by far the most curious entry in the whole volume, yet are there several other notices of the poets and miscellaneous writers of the time, none of which had been used by the men of the Sir Egerton Brydges school, the Parks, Haslewoods, and others, though they were very much to the purpose of their inquiries. In fact,

* Mr. Collier gives this passage from the Diary in his *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 327, published in 1831; but he does not appear to have made any researches concerning the writer of the Diary, or to have followed out the entry to its curious consequences.

up to the period when it fell into my hands, I have reason to think that no eye had fallen on this unobtrusive volume that could perceive its curiosity and worth. It contained also anecdotes of greater or less value of leading political characters, and in the account which is given of the state of the palace at the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth, it rises to the dignity of an historical document, the writer having been at Richmond, in the palace, on the day before the queen expired, and present at the sermon which his friend, Dr. Parry, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, delivered to the household.

The writer has even recorded a personal anecdote of Shakespeare, which he appears to have learnt from Towley the actor. It is far from being creditable to him. It relates to his having supplanted his fellow-actor, Burbage, in an assignation, and turning it off with the joke that "William the Conqueror was before Richard the Third," the character which Burbage personated when the assignation was made.

For the illustration of the writings of Shakespeare, the volume contains also some curious particulars, shewing the state of the public mind at the time of the death of Elizabeth, and accession of James the First, which led me to the discovery of what seems to be the date and real purpose of the play of *King Henry the Eighth*.

I immediately made a communication of the treasure which I had discovered to two literary friends, both eminently skilled in literary history, and from one of them, after due consideration and comparison of the fact with what had previously been written on the date and origin of this play, I received the gratifying testimony that "I could not think too highly of the discovery I had made." Mr. B. H. Bright, one of them, whose acquaintance with every thing that had

been done for Shakespeare was most extensive and complete, while he admitted that the entry respecting the *Twelfth Night* was wholly new, said at once that the anecdote respecting Shakespeare and Burbage was familiar to him: that he had read it he knew not where, but certainly somewhere, and I have since found that it is told with some variations in the *Life*, annexed to *Lamb's Tales from Shakspeare*. The author does not say from whence he derived it, and it may, perhaps, be found in some ordinary jest-book. That he derived it from this particular manuscript is not probable.

It now became an object of curiosity, if not of importance, to determine who the person was that had recorded so many entertaining trifles, together with some things of an important character. The author of the Harleian Catalogue had either never entered on the inquiry, or had proved unsuccessful: and indeed, full as the manuscript is of the names of persons and places, and abounding in notes of relationship in which the writer stood to parties whom he names, it was no easy task to find a person in whom so many circumstances tending to identification concurred, that the mind might rest in the assurance that the real author had been discovered. The writer had no view or purpose of concealment, yet it required a good deal of research and inquiry to find him out.

If the reader will bear such a detail, I will shew the process by which I at length succeeded in identifying the writer of this manuscript. It was plain on the face of it that he was a member of the Middle Temple, living for the most part in London, and that he had a Mr. Curle for his chamber-fellow, who was called to the bar on May 14, 1602. Also, that he was a man mixing in very good society, both of the grave and of the gay, and especially seeking the society

of those who, in the age of Addison, would have been called the wits of the town. Further, that his family connections lay for the most part in the county of Kent.

The persons who at first presented themselves were any members of the families of Twisden or Dering; Thomas Jones, the Common Serjeant of London, Edward Blount, John Davies, Richard Martin, John Hoskins; but it soon was found that there were circumstances in the history of all these which could not be made to accord with facts which the writer had related of himself. Dismissing, therefore, all hope of succeeding by the tentative process, I had recourse to the indications which the manuscript contains of persons and families to whom the writer stood in any degree of consanguinity or affinity, in the hope that, by looking at the accounts of those families in the visitation books, or in the histories of the counties in which they resided, we might find some one name common to all, or perhaps some person in one of the families who might answer to all the conditions.

Of his kindred he names the following persons and circumstances:—"Cousin Norton"—"At Bradborne with my cousin, his christening"—"My cousin told me that Mr. Richers would give his cousin Cartwright 8000*l.* for his lease of the Abbey of Town-Malling, the reversion of which the Lord Cobham has purchased"—"My cousin told me that when she was first married to her husband Marsh, &c."—"Cousin Garnons"—"My cousin bought Bradborne of either Mr. Cartwright's father, or Mr. Catlyn: Mr. Cartwright's father and Mr. Richers' mother were brother and sister"—"One Kent, my cousin's brother by his mother's side, living in Lincolnshire"—"John Vermoren, a Dutchman, of kin to my cousin's first wife's sister's husband, in Kent." The Pallavicinis descended from him.—"Cousin

G. Manningham, deceased"—"Cousin Watts, by Sandwich"—"Cousin Chapman at Godmersham"—"Cousin Cranmer"—"Cousin Wingate married to a rich widow in Kent."

Of the Nortons, Cartwrights, Cranmers, pedigrees more or less complete were easily found, and of some of the other names slight notices in the various topographical works which relate to Kent. But from none of them could anything in the least satisfactory be deduced. And it was at last by endeavouring to ascertain who the "cousin" unnamed who "bought Bradborne" could be, that the whole mystery was dispelled, and I discovered a person hitherto unknown to our literature, as the writer of this very valuable journal.

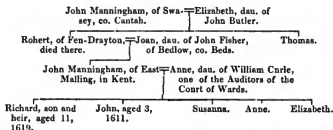
Bradborne is situated in the parish of East Malling in Kent. The monumental inscriptions in that church are given by Thorpe in his *Registrum Roffense*, and amongst them is the following :

RICARDUS MANNINGHAM honesta natus familia, mercatorum juvenis exercuit satis copiosam; ætate proveciore ruri vacavit literis et valetudini, in studiis tam divinis quam humanis eruditus; Latine, Gallice, Belgice dixit, scripsit, eleganter et proprie; nec alieni appetens nec profusus sui; amicos habuit fideliter et benigne, pauperes fortunis suis sublevavit; affines et consanguineos auxit, animi candore, vultus suavitate et gravitate conspicuus; sobrie prudens, et sincere pius. Languido tandem confectus morbo, fide Deum amplexus orthodoxâ, expiravit 25^o die Aprilis, Anno salutis 1611, et ætatis suæ 72. Desideratus suis, maxime Johanni Mannyngham hæredi, qui monumentum hoc memor morensque posuit.

There was on the first perusal of this inscription a probability that it was placed in memory of the person so often mentioned in the diary as his cousin at Bradborne; and this probability was greatly strengthened by two circumstances; first, that the writer of the Diary had a cousin named G. Manningham; and, secondly, that the cousin at Bradborne is said in the diary to be aged 62 in the year 1602, which

agrees exactly with what is said in the inscription that Richard Manningham was 71 at the time of his death in 1611.

I had then recourse to the visitation of Kent of 1619 for any account of Manningshams living at Bradborne. or East Malling, when I found that the following entry had been made by a John Manningham, who was evidently the heir of Richard, by whom the monument was erected, and who was then living on the estates which Richard had given him.



Light began now to dawn. The John Manningham who had succeeded to the estates of his cousin Richard Manningham had married a Curle, and it may be remembered that the writer of the Diary speaks of an intimate friend of that name who was a student with him at the inns of court. But still we were far from having sufficient evidence that this John was actually the person whose journal this is.

The next point, therefore, was to ascertain whether it appeared by the registers of the Middle Temple that there was at the period a member of that house whose name was John Manningham: and this point was most satisfactorily determined by finding the following entry in the book of admissions:

"16 die Martii, 1597. Mr. Johannes Manningham filius et hæres Roberti Manningham de Fenne Drayton in com.

Cantabrig. generosi, defuncti, admissus est in societatem Medii Templi generaliter; et obligatus una cum magistris Johanne Chapman and Johanne Hoskyns, et dat pro fine iiii."

It afterwards appears that he was called to the degree of Utter barrister at a parliament held June 7, 1605.

This identified beyond all question the John Manningham of East Malling in 1619, the heir of his relative Richard Manningham, with the John Manningham of the Middle Temple, and seemed to leave no reasonable doubt that it was to him we owed the curious information which this Diary contains. And, had we no further evidence, we might receive this as sufficient.

But for greater security I had recourse to the will of Richard Manningham, which placed the whole matter beyond the limits of doubt. The reader may compare several passages in the following abstract of it with the notices of the relatives named in the Diary:—The testator describes himself as of East Malling in Kent, gentleman; to be buried at East Malling, by my first wife; to the poor of this parish, 10*l.*; poor of St. Alban's, co. Herts, where I was born, 10*l.*; Edmund Manningham, my kinsman, 20*l.*; William Manningham, his son, 5*l.*; Mary Manningham, his daughter, 5 marks; William Manningham, brother to Edmund, 40*l.*; Charles Manningham, his brother, 30*l.*; to the three sisters of the said Charles, Anna, Mary, and Elizabeth, or whatever their names may be, each 10*l.*; Elizabeth Houghton and

* His chamber-fellow, Edward Curle, son and heir apparent of William Curle of Hatfield, co. Herts., gentleman, was admitted "specialiter" on November 29, 1594. This William Curle, father-in-law of Manningham, died April 16, 1617, aged 77, and has a monument in the church of Hatfield. Another of his sons was Walter Curle, who became Bishop of Winchester. In his will dated March 15, 1646, he speaks of his sister Anne Manningham. See some account of the Curles by Bishop Kennett, in *Lansd. MS.* 985.

Mary Clayton, daughter of late half-brother Robert Kent, each 10*l.*; widow of Drew Kent, son of said Robert, 5*l.*; Gregory Arnold, eldest son of late half-sister Elizabeth Arnold, 10*l.*; other persons related to him by the Kents; Jancken Vermoren, daughter of late wife's sister, 20*l.*; Legacies to Servants; William Short, late servant to cousin John Manningham, 5*l.*; Mercers' Company of London, whereof I am, 5*l.* for a dinner; kinsman William Cranmer, the merchant, 5*l.* Releases debts owing to him from various of the Kents, also from Arnold Verbeck and Abraham Verbeck, merchant-strangers, kinsmen to my wife, they to pay to the two daughters of said Arnold Verbeck, called Margareta and Susanna, each 40*l.*; "*kinsman and son-in-love John Manningham, gentleman, of the Middle Temple,*" executor; friend Emmanuel Drone, of London, merchant, overseer. I confirm to my above-named executor my grant formerly made by me to him of my mansion-house called Bradborne, &c. in East Malling, &c. as by deed January 3, in the 7th of his present Majesty, may appear; also messuages, &c. in East Malling, and lands in Cranbrook. Lastly, he gives lands at Hadlow, in Kent, to his kinsman John Arnold, of St. Alban's, kinsman Richard Laurence, of Maidstone, and servant, Annis Hall.—The will was dated January 21, 1611, and was proved by John Mauningham the executor.

And having thus, as I conceive, completely established that the person whose journal and note-book this is was no other than John Manningham, then studying in the Middle Temple, but in a few years to be removed from London to take possession of a house and lands at East Malling, which were given him by a collateral relative, I have nothing further to add respecting him, except that we do not find his name in any other way connected with either the lighter or the graver literature of the country but through this single

manuscript, so that it is probable for the remainder of his life he lived the life of a country gentleman, cultivating acres of his own, and in due time was gathered to his fathers, leaving his inheritance to his children.*

To return to the play. A period being thus definitely fixed before which the *Twelfth Night* must have been written, it is scarcely necessary to advert to the grounds on which the critics had, as with one voice, assigned this play to a late period of the poet's life, were it not that they shew how uncertain has been the ground on which these critics proceeded. Here is an authentic statement in a manuscript of the time, concerning the genuineness of which there can be no uncertainty, that this play, nearly as we have it, was performed in the Hall of the Middle Temple, at one of the two annual grand days, as they were called, on February 2, 1601-2;† so that the play must have been written in 1601 at the latest. Tyrwhitt, however, saw in the expression—"Nay, if you be an undertaker, I am for you,"—Act iii. Sc. 4, a sarcastic allusion to certain persons in the House of Commons who, in the Parliament of 1614, *undertook*, as the phrase was, to manage elections according to the King's wishes, and who were on that account called invidiously *undertakers*. He therefore concluded that the play was written about that time, and Malone adopted the suggestion, placing the *Twelfth Night*, in his original chronological order, in the year 1614. Mr. Chalmers places it in 1613, still grounding himself on this expression "undertaker," but thinking that it might

* Thomas Manningham, who became Bishop of Chichester in 1673, was the son of a rector of Town Malling, who was possibly one of the sons of John. The Bishop was the father of Sir Richard Manningham, an eminent physician in the reign of Queen Anne; and there have been other Manninghams distinguished in various walks of life.

† Dugdale informs us that plays were usually represented on these occasions, for which the actors received £10 as a reward. *Origines Juridicales*, p. 214.

allude to other persons who in those times were called undertakers, as particularly the persons who undertook the colonization of Ulster; and Ritson appears to have been of opinion that some such allusion was intended.

The passage has undoubtedly very much the air of having a special allusion to something at the time, and of having what may be called a special or technical sense couched in the word "undertaker;" and if Tyrwhitt and the rest had contented themselves with remarking this, and thence inferring that this particular passage was written at a time when the term undertaker was for some particular reason become a term often used sarcastically, and, as it were, proverbially, they would probably have carried with them the public opinion, since it is quite evident that particular expressions have been introduced occasionally after the plays might be said to have been completed. But it is quite manifest that it was to place too strong a reliance on such a clause to found upon it an opinion that the whole play must have been written at so late a period of the poet's life.

Mr. Chalmers' other arguments are too slight to deserve even a passing notice. Mr. Malone did not adhere to his opinion. He sacrifices the undertakers, and on the last revision of his most ingenious and learned Essay he declares for the year 1607, that is, for the forty-third year of Shakespeare's life, when we know with absolute certainty that it was performed in his thirty-eighth year. Here Mr. Malone has ventured upon that very dangerous ground, the perfection or the imperfection of the drama itself. "I should not ascribe this admirable comedy to an earlier date, for it bears evident marks of having been a late production, as most of the characters that it contains are finished to a higher degree of dramatic perfection than is discoverable in some of our author's earlier comic performances." This kind of reason-

ing, not even in the hands of so masterly a genius as Coleridge, can never lead to just conclusions.

As to the other allusions which Mr. Malone notices in connection with his later theory, which assigned this play to 1607, they are little more than a repetition of what he found in Chalmers' *Supplementary Apology*, or repetitions of what he had himself before advanced in support of the date 1613; and since his inference from them was, past doubt, erroneous, it is unnecessary to enter into an examination of them.

But a new question respecting the date of this play arises out of the discovery of the fact that it was performed in the Middle Temple Hall on February 2, 1601-2, namely, whether it were then a play only just completed, or whether it had been written one, two, or three years before, and had been exhibited, as other plays were, at the theatres. On this point we have no decisive information. There is no edition of the *Twelfth Night* before it appeared in the general collection of Shakespeare's works in 1623, nor any entry before that time on the books of the Stationers' Company respecting it.

As there is no reason to conclude that when it was performed at the Middle Temple it was a new play in the strictest sense of the word, the probabilities incline in favour of an earlier date than 1601. Much earlier it cannot be, else we should have found it in Meres' list in 1598.

The commentators have remarked that when Maria says of Malvolio, "He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies,"—Act iii. Sc. 2, she alludes to the maps in the English translation of Linschoten's *Voyages*, which are indeed multilinear in the extreme:

With centric and excentric scribbled o'er:

and as this book was published in 1598, and as such an allusion would be introduced with effect only while the book was

new, it might be concluded that 1599 is quite late enough for the date of a play in which such an allusion is found. I would not assert that there is not an allusion to these maps of Linschoten, but I doubt it. The turn of the expression seems to point not to the maps in Linschoten, but to some single map well-known at the time, "the new map;" and further that the map alluded to had the words in its title, "with the Augmentation of the Indies," which is not the case with any of Linschoten's maps.

From Ben Jonson's play entitled *Every Man out of his Humour*, a less uncertain argument may be drawn for referring this play to the year 1599. In that play, as the commentators have shewn, one of the characters says:—"That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and the countess to be in love with the duke's son; and the son to love the lady's waiting-maid: some such cross-wooing, with a clown to their serving-man, better than to be thus near and familiarly allied to the time;" which has undoubtedly an appearance of being said in allusion to this play. It is another attack upon Shakespeare and the romantic drama, just as in the *Every Man in his Humour* Jonson had attacked *The Tempest*; and that he had such an allusion is rendered more probable by what Cordatus replies:—"You say well; but I would fain hear one of these autumn-judgments define once, *Quid sit Comœdia?* If he cannot, let him content himself with Cicero's definition till he have strength to propose to himself a better; who would have a comedy to be *imitatio vitæ, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis*; a thing throughout pleasant and ridiculous, and accommodated to the correction of manners; if the maker have failed in any particle of this, they may worthily tax him, but if not, why—be you that are for them silent, as I will be for him, and give

way to the actors." There is here again the war which Jonson was ever waging against the romantic drama, to which class the *Twelfth Night* belongs. Nor do I think it any reason against this opinion that Shakespeare himself acted in the *Every Man out of his Humour*, or that there is in such passages as this any proof of envy, malignity, or any other odious passion in the mind of Jonson.

Now we know that the *Every Man out of his Humour* was performed in 1599, and, as such an allusion to *Twelfth Night* would be more pertinent and effective if made while it was a new play, we may I think venture to assign it to that year.

It was in 1599 that Harsnet published his tract entitled *A Discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrel*, and though as between the year 1599 and 1600, or even the succeeding year, this would prove nothing in respect of the precise date of this play, yet it will be seen to be favourable to the opinion that this play was written in 1599, since it may appear that Shakespeare was in this play rendering his assistance, in conjunction with Harsnet, to bring into disrepute certain transactions of a party of puritans of the time. Harsnet it may be observed was Dr. Samuel Harsnet, who was successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich and Archbishop of York; the same person who, having in this tract exposed the folly, if not something worse, of certain puritans in the north, did in 1603 expose a similar delusion, in which the actors were papists, in a tract in which Shakespeare found the names which he has given to the spirits in *King Lear*, so that in both instances he may be regarded as fighting side by side with this very sensible and rational divine, against the puritans in the one and the papists in the other, when they were submitting themselves to be dupes to a mischievous delusion, or part and parcel of the persons who deluded.

As this is an entirely new view of the origin of some of the most remarkable scenes in this play, I must in the first place beg the reader's attention to the general fact that, though in other plays of Shakespeare we have indirect and sarcastical remarks on the opinions or practices by which the puritan party in the Reformed Church of England were distinguished, casually introduced, it is in this play that we have his grand attack upon them; that here in fact there is a systematic design of holding them up to ridicule, and of exposing to public odium what appeared to him to be the dark features in the puritan character. Not only does this appear in particular expressions and passages in the play, but to those who are acquainted with the representations which their enemies made of the puritan character, it will appear sufficiently evident that Shakespeare intended to make Malvolio an abstract of that character, to exhibit in him all the worst features, and to combine them with others which were merely ridiculous. The character which his mistress gives of him is that he is "sad and civil," and that he "suits as a servant with her fortune," in her state of affliction. This shews that, previously to the introduction into his mind of the fantastic notions which afterwards possessed him, it was intended that he should be of a formal, grave, and solemn demeanour, and, as to his attire, dressed with a quaker-like plainness, which would heighten the comic effect when afterwards he decked himself with all manner of finery when he sought to please, as he supposed, his mistress. Something is lost, when this play is represented, in not sufficiently attending to this point in the costume. As we proceed we find that he is a person not moved to cheerfulness by any innocent jest; he casts a malign look on every person and every thing around him; he seeks to depreciate every thing and every body; even Feste, the poor innocent domestic fool,

who plays his part admirably, is not too far removed below the line of a rational jealousy to be free from the effect of his malign disposition : " I saw him put down the other day by an ordinary fool." At the same time he has a most inordinate conceit of himself, " sick of self-love ;" and, without possessing any of the qualities by which a generous ambition may and does effect its designs, he aims at objects which he ought to have regarded as without the range of his desires, even so far as to seek to possess himself of the hand and fortune of his mistress. Under a show of humility he hides a proud and tyrannical heart ; in what he says of Sir Toby he shews the petty tyranny which he will exercise when the golden opportunity shall arrive. He begrudges any little service to any one, even that belonging to the office which he holds ; and when there is any thing in which he is employed, where he has the choice of smoothening or roughening asperities, or when he has to form a judgment on what he witnesses, he invariably takes the unkind part, and shews at the same time that he has pleasure in taking it. His first introduction to the audience is with the remark which he makes, " Yes, and shall do till the pangs of death shake him ;" and he makes his final exit exclaiming, " I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you."

Such is Malvolio, who thus answers to his name, and who is perhaps one of the most finished characters drawn by Shakespeare, or any other dramatist. As the representative of a class, however, it is overcharged with what is unamiable. It was no part of the object of Shakespeare to soften, or to mix those redeeming features which were to be found in the puritan character. His object was to hold up the puritan to aversion ; and the moment he entered, the spectators would perceive by his attire the kind of person brought before them, or, if that were not sufficient, there

was no mistaking the words of Maria: "Sometimes he is a kind of puritan."

In Malvolio's general character the intention was to make the puritan odious; in the stratagem of which he is the victim to make him ridiculous. Nothing can exceed these scenes for comic effect. It seems as if it were originally the poet's intention to deliver him up into the hands of Falstaff. Sir Toby is corpulent and witty, needy, dishonest, shifting, drunken, and "much a liar," with all Falstaff's address in extricating himself from a difficulty. Several of his expressions are quite in the Falstaff vein. Strip Falstaff, in short, of his military character and court brocade, and send him from the taverns of London to a well-replenished hall in the country, and we have the character of Sir Toby. In his companion Sir Andrew we have Slender again under a new name, even to the trick of *quoting*, the main characteristic of Slender. A stroke or two may be perceived, just sufficient to discriminate them, but such strokes, if such exist, are few; so few that there can hardly be a doubt that the poet's original intention, or perhaps a suggestion made to him, was that the puritan should be delivered up into the hands of Falstaff. Falstaff's historical æra was, however, too decidedly fixed, and this rendered it expedient to invent a new name, and perhaps to introduce certain new features into the character.

Nothing is more complete than the ridicule which is thrown upon Malvolio, and in him on the puritan character in general: but we now proceed to a more particular case of puritan delusion, on which it seems that Shakespeare intended in this place to direct the force of his ridicule, the delusion which had been exposed in a serious manner by Harsnet in the pamphlet to which we have already referred. Malvolio, it will be remembered, is put in a dark cell, and

treated as one possessed. This was in accordance with the opinion of the puritans, and in justice to them it ought to be added not of them only, though they may lie open to the charge of having given more countenance to the opinion than more sober religionists. Shakespeare in this rose above his age, and on several occasions, but particularly in this play, he distinctly attacks the notion of possession, and its consequent, exorcism.

Lessons of this kind are seasonable at all times, but there was a particular call for them in 1599, in consequence of a remarkable case of the kind which had then just occurred, and which produced Harsnet's pamphlet on the one side and several formal defences on the other. The scene was in Lancashire, but parties charged with imposture, of whom Darrel and More were the chief, were brought to London, and it is evident that it called for so much public notice as to become a very proper subject for a dramatist, who, either for the attraction of his theatre, or with the higher motive of encouraging just views on a practical topic of the time, chose to make it the subject of his pen.

The facts of the particular case were these; and, however we may view them, as to their nature, cause, and origin, they must be allowed to be in themselves extraordinary, and the whole narrative is well worth perusing: Nicholas Starkey, or Starchy, as the name is written in the pamphlets relating to this affair, was a gentleman of Lancashire, residing at a place called Cleworth, in the parish of Leigh, which he acquired by marriage with the heir of Parr of that place. He was the head of a family still existing in the county, and still a family of distinction, the Starkeys of Huntroyd, in the parish of Whalley, where his father then lived. He had a son and daughter, named John and Anne, who in 1595, being then respectively of the ages of ten and nine,

were seized with fits, which, if there be no exaggeration, and there is no room to suspect any, were alarming, and quite sufficient, in an age of less philosophy than the present, to induce the belief that it was a more than mortal visitation. After they had continued for nine or ten weeks, and the violence rather increased than abated, the family had recourse to one Edmund Hartley, a person who had great reputation in those parts as a "Conjurer." This man, by the promise of great reward, undertook to relieve the children, and, as Darrel relates the facts, by "the use of certain Popish charms and herbs," succeeded in his purpose. At least the fits ceased, and did not return for a year and a half, during which time Hartley used frequently to visit them, and at length at Mr. Starchy's request became domiciled with him. But in the autumn of 1596 the disease returned, and Mr. Starchy began to be dissatisfied with Hartley, and resorted to Manchester to consult a physician there. There also he found the famous Dr. John Dee, who had lately been appointed Warden, whose advice was that they should abandon the practices to which they had had recourse, and, setting aside all other means of help, should call for some godly preachers, with whom they should consult concerning a public or private fast.

They still continued, however, to keep Hartley about them; but at the beginning of 1597 the affair became more serious, for not only did the fits return to the two children of Mr. Starchy, but three other young girls, wards of Mr. Starchy, and living in the family with him, namely, Margaret and Ellinor Hardman, and Elizabeth Holland, the oldest of whom was fourteen, were seized in the same manner; also Margaret Byrom, of Salford, a poor kinswoman of Mr. Starchy, who had come to Cleworth to make merry, was seized in like manner; also Jane Ashton, a servant of

the family; and even Hartley himself did not wholly escape the infection. Then follows a very remarkable account of the symptoms, unlike, I conceive, to any thing with which medical practice in these times is familiar, shouting, dancing, singing, laughing in a most violent and inordinate manner, throwing themselves into various postures, talking incoherent and ridiculous nonsense; all of which was attributed to satanic agency.

At length it began to be suspected that Hartley had bewitched them; the magistracy interfered: information against Hartley, for the use of magical arts, was laid before Mr. Hopwood, a neighbouring justice of the peace.* He in fact who had been called in to relieve them was now suspected of being himself the person by whose means it was that they suffered so much. The young girls when brought before Mr. Hopwood were speechless, and afterwards said that Hartley would not suffer them to speak against him. Finally, Hartley was committed to the castle of Lancaster, tried on a capital charge at the Lent assizes, 1597, found guilty, and to the disgrace of the age and of all parties, executed, with some accidental circumstances which made the barbarity more striking. And thus ended the first act of the tragedy.

One of the proofs that the children were possessed by Satan

* In *Dr. Dee's Diary*, printed by the Camden Society, from the original in the Ashmolean Library, there is no notice of the resort to him of the Starchys; but there is an incidental confirmation of the truth of the story in the following entries: "1596-7, March 19. I lent Mr. Hopwood *Wierus de Prastigiis Daemonum*;" and again, "April 13, I had my *Wierus* from Mr. Hopwood, and lent him *Flagellum Daemonum*, and *Fustis Daemonum*." It is a pity that he did not learn more than he seems to have done from these sensible books; I mean particularly *Wierus*; the other two I only conclude from the titles that they are written in the same spirit. Dr. Dee's character is much misunderstood. At a later period in the same year, and no doubt in connection with this affair, Dr. Dee lent him a book called *Malleus Maleficarum*.

was that the children were perfectly quiet for many hours together, while their parents were at a play, performed at a neighbouring gentleman's house, but were troubled whenever the parents were gone about any godly exercise. So that the theatre was attacked by the authors of these pamphlets.

Early in this year Mr. Starchy acted on the advice given by Dr. Dee and by other persons, that he should call in the aid of some divines, and he procured one preacher after another, but no good effect followed till it happened that the butler of Dr. Dee suggested that application should be made to Mr. Darrel, a puritan minister, who had lately been successful in a similar case, and who after a good deal of importunity came to Cleworth from Nottingham, where he resided, being accompanied by another puritan minister, Mr. George More, pastor of Calk, in Derbyshire. This was on March 16, 1596-7, a few days after the execution of Hartley. Soon after the arrival of the two ministers, as they sat at dinner, in came Margaret and Ellinor Hardman, with Ellen Holland in the guise of players, and bid them welcome: "Forasmuch as nobody sent for me, said one, I am come of my own accord;" and when she had said this she was thrown backward on a form, and all the three were strangely and grievously tormented, their faces disfigured, their bodies swelled, and they talked in a wild and rambling manner about the death of Hartley, and the breaking of the rope; saying other things which led Darrel to conclude that Hartley had been the means of infusing the Devil into these young women, and that the Devil had entered into himself.

In a short time the two ministers began their work. All the possessed were led together into a room with the ministers, when several of them began to scoff and blaspheme; and when the bible was introduced they shouted out in a

scoffing manner "Bible-bable, Bible-bable," continuing this cry for some time. This was accompanied by strange and supernatural whooping, so loud that the house and ground shook again.

Some religious preparation was made that evening, but the next day they were to proceed formally to the act of exorcism. The afflicted were brought into a large parlour and laid on couches, and there was an assemblage of about thirty persons, including Mr. Dickens the pastor of the place. The day was spent in prayer, fasting, and preaching; the afflicted continuing in their fits, and several of them using scurrilous speeches, and speaking blasphemously, calling the word preached as before "Bible-bable; he will never have done prating, prittle-prattle;" but towards the close of the day six of the seven were dispossessed, feeling as they thought the Devil departing out of them in various shapes; and though for three or four days after there were symptoms of the same kind, and they had to resist the devil in his attempts to return and gain possession of them, yet it appears that they might from that time be accounted to have recovered.

This was not the only case of supposed possession relieved by the interference of the Puritan ministry at that period, and I conceive that the representing Malvolio to be himself possessed was a happy ridicule of these performances, shewing as it did how easy it was to give the character of being possessed to any person in whose conduct anything very peculiar was found, but that this particular case was prominent in the mind of Shakespeare. The latter conclusion I draw from the exact agreement of the time, from the notice which was drawn to it, from its having been the subject of direct attack from Harsnet, and the opinion appears to receive some confirmation from what the Fool in the character of a divine says to Malvolio when he is treated as one under Satanic influence—

"Endeavour thyself to sleep, and leave thy vain bible-babble," exactly the nonsensical word which was in the mouth of the possessed in Lancashire, as we have seen; and More, the other divine who, as well as Darrel, published an account of this affair, relates the same circumstance:—"When we called for a bible, they fell a laughing at it, and said, 'Reach them the bible-babble, bible-babble:' it went round in their mouths from one to another, and continued with many other scornings and filthy speeches that we could not bereave them of it."* What company of players can it have been that like those in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* had presented themselves at the hall of one of the gentry of Lancashire, and entertained the company, of whom Mr. Starchy was one, for so many hours?

And this connection with the affair in the family of the Starchys seems to suggest a very possible reason for the appearance of a word in this play which has given no small trouble to the commentators,—one of the words which, like three or four others, appear, like ghosts, *once* and are seen no more. The word to which I allude is *Strachy*:—"The lady of the Strachy married the yeoman of the wardrobe."—Act ii. sc. 5. There is nothing satisfactory upon this word in the notes of the Variorum till we come to one by Mr. R. P. Knight, who suggests that it is a corrupt form of *stratici*, a title of magistracy in many states of Italy, derived from the Greek *στρατηγος*. But the difficulty ends not there. There is the further question why Shakespeare should have here used a word so unusual that the meaning of it would not be understood by many of the persons who frequented the theatres, and which has remained till lately a word not understood among the professed critics on his writings, when other

* The expression "Bible-Babble" was not of the children's own invention, it occurring in Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 33.

words, such as Duke, Earl, would have suited the place as well; and perhaps it is as reasonable a conjecture as is likely to be offered that he introduced it on account of its near resemblance to the name of *Starchy*, and as a kind of intimation early in the play that the audience might expect something on what was at the time a topic of no small public interest: in the same manner as when in *King Lear* he turns to a joke the names of the spirits in that "Popish imposture," as Harsnet calls it, he does not directly connect the names with the transaction, but he gives the name of *Edmund* to one of his characters, by this means keeping in view of the audience the two Edmunds who figure in that affair—Edmund Peckham and Father Edmunds, the Jesuit.

The early writings of Harsnet are remarkable for their frequent allusions to the theatre and dramatic affairs. Possibly it may one day be found that he is to be numbered among the personal friends of Shakespeare.*

Reverting now to the passage in Manningham's Journal respecting the performance of this play in the Hall of the

* Samuel Harsnet, a native of Colchester, was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, a little after Spenser and Harvey. In 1609 he became Bishop of Chichester, in 1619 of Norwich, and in 1628 Archbishop of York. Echard says of him that he was "a learned and judicious divine, and the first perhaps who used the noted expression of *Conformable Puritans*, such as conformed out of policy, and disscoted in their judgments." Le Neve, from whom I have this quotation, gives many particulars from his will, but omits what is by far the most striking and important part of it:—"I die in the ancient faith of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church, called the Primitive Church, that faith as it was professed by the ancient holy Fathers next after the blessed Apostles, the great renowned pillars of the same, and signed and sealed with their blood; renouneing from my heart all modern Popish superstitions, as all novelties of Geneva, not accordant with the maxims of the primitive renowned Church, relying and resting my sinful soul upon the slooe merits of Christ Jesus, mine only Saviour and most blessed Redeemer, to whom be all praise, honour, and glory, world without end." This was written, as it were, with his dying hand, the will being made on February 13, 1631, and he died in May following. He bequeathed his library to the town of Colchester.

Middle Temple, it will be recollected that he says the plot resembled "that of *The Comedy of Errors*, or *Menechmi* of Plautus," to which, indeed, there is some resemblance; but he goes on to remark that it is "most like and near to that in Italian called *Inganni*." Here was an entirely new and unthought of source opened to view, for no one had ever thought of referring to the Italian drama for the origin of this play, or even for the origin of any of the plays of Shakespeare, and it became immediately a point of great interest to obtain this Italian Play, and to see how far Manningham was borne out in his suggestion, and also to what extent Shakespeare might be indebted to this work of the Italian dramatist.

On referring to the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Haym, printed at Milan in 1771, I found that there were two Italian comedies, both of a date preceding that of the *Twelfth-Night*, by two different authors, and bearing the same title—*Gl'Inganni*, The Cheats. The author of one was Nicolo Secchi, and it was printed at Florence in 1562; the author of the other was Curzio Gonzaga, and his *Inganni* was printed at Venice in 1592. I have also ascertained that there was a third Italian comedy having the same title, and but a little later in date than the two already named. The author of this was Domenico Cornaccini, a Florentine, and his *Inganni* was printed at Venice in 1604. This is after the date of the *Twelfth Night*, and attention to it may be at once dismissed, as it contains nothing that has the slightest resemblance to this play of Shakespeare.

Not so, however, the two *Ingannis* of Secchi and Gonzaga. Both these it may seem were read by Shakespeare when he was engaged on this play. In both he found a brother and a sister, the latter clothed in man's attire, and bearing to each other so near a resemblance as to produce entertaining em-

barrassments, which is the pivot on which the main incidents in the serious part of the *Twelfth Night* turn. The name assumed by the lady in disguise in Gonzaga's play is *Cesare*, which will easily be admitted to have suggested the name *Cæsario* in Shakespeare adopted by Viola in her disguise. Beyond this, however, the resemblance is not striking.

But even this slight use made of it may render the following notice acceptable, as a book now for the first time added to Shakespeare's library.

Gli Inganni Comedia dell' illustriss. Signor Cartio Gonzaga. All' Illustriss^{ma}. & excellentiss. Signora Donna Marfisa da Este. Con Privilegio. In Venetia, 1592.

It has the printer's device in the title-page, which is repeated in small at the end, with the words, "In Venetia. Appresso Giovan. Antonio Rampazzetto. 1592."

To each scene is prefixed a wood-cut, representing the characters in their proper costume, and the streets of the city in which the action takes place.

Secchi's play I possess, in the edition named by Haym, which was also the edition in the Pinelli Library: but it was not the first, for the title runs as follows:

Gl' Inganni Comedia del Signor N. S. Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547, dinanzi alla Maesta del Re Filippo. Nnouamente posta in luce. Con Licenza, e Privilegio. In Fiorenza appresso i Giunti. M.D.LXII.

This copy has a remarkable bibliographical peculiarity, for at the end is a leaf containing the Registro, with the words, "In Fiorenza nella stamperia de Giunti, M.D.LXXXI.III."

But though this play has the brother and sister resembling each other, and the sister assuming the attire of the man, with the mistakes thence arising, yet Shakespeare can hardly be said to have been indebted to it for a single passage in the dialogue, or a single situation in the acting. So

that the information given us by Manningham would have really at last led to nothing worth notice in respect of the origin of the *Twelfth Night*, had not the pursuit of the *Ingannis* led, by a very fortunate chance, to the knowledge of another Italian Play, with a title very like *Inganni*, which beyond question was the Italian play to which Shakespeare was chiefly indebted for the plot of the *Twelfth Night*.

When seeking for the *Ingannis*, the *Inganni* of Gonzaga first presented itself to me, in a volume containing a small collection of Italian comedies, all printed at Venice, between the years 1546 and 1592. The plays were the following; and in the following order :

GP *Inganni*, 1592.

Il Capitano, del Dolce, 1547.

Il Viluppo, del Parabosco, 1547.

La Notte, del Parabosco, 1546.

Il Sacrificio, de gli Intronati, 1585.

The last of these plays consists of a poetical Induction, to which only the title, *Il Sacrificio*, belongs: This is succeeded by a comedy, the title of which is *GP Ingannati*.

And that it was on the model of this play, and not on any of the *Ingannis*, that Shakespeare formed the plan of the serious parts of the *Twelfth Night*, will appear evidently by the following analysis of the main parts of the story.

Fabritio and Lelia, a brother and sister, are separated at the sack of Rome, in 1527. Lelia is carried to Modena, where resides Flaminio, to whom she had formerly been attached. Lelia disguises herself as a boy, and enters his service. Flaminio had forgotten Lelia, and was a suitor to Isabella, a Modenese lady. Lelia, in her male attire, is employed in love-embassies from Flaminio to Isabella. Isabella is insensible to the importunities of Flaminio, but conceives a violent passion for Lelia, mistaking her for a

man. In the third act Fabritio arrives at Modena, when mistakes arise owing to the close resemblance there is between Fabritio and his sister in her male attire. Ultimately recognitions take place: the affections of Isabella are easily transferred from Lelia to Fabritio, and Flaminio takes to his bosom the affectionate and faithful Lelia.

Now change but the names, and we have here the serious part of *Twelfth Night*. Substitute Orsino for Flaminio, Olivia for Isabella, Viola for Lelia, and Sebastian for Fabritio, and the preceding analysis would nearly serve for Shakespeare's play. We have in the Italian play a subordinate character, named Pasquella, to whom Maria corresponds; and in the subordinate incidents we find Fabritio mistaken in the street for Lelia, by the servant of Isabella, who takes him to her mistress's house, exactly as Sebastian is taken for Viola, and led to the house of Olivia.

The English poet has shewn his judgment, in having freed the story from the incumbrance of two characters who are found in the Italian drama, which too much delights in exposing the weaknesses and follies of age. These are Virginio, the father of Lelia, and Gherardo, the father of Isabella. Gherardo makes love to Lelia, and is favoured by Virginio in his suit. But in another particular a question might be raised whether the change which Shakespeare has made is for the better. Dr. Johnson remarks that "Viola seems to have formed a very deep design with very little premeditation; she is thrown by shipwreck on an unknown coast, learns that the prince is a bachelor, and resolves to supplant the lady whom he courts." This is not quite just to Viola, whom every reader admires and loves, but all pretence for such a remark is precluded in the Italian play, where Lelia is represented as having been before known to Flaminio, and having been admired by him, and as using

what was but a fair stratagem in love. If something is gained, however, in one direction, something is lost in another, it being hard to conceive that if Flaminio and Lelia had known each other so well a few years before, the change of dress would have been sufficient to conceal her from one in daily intercourse with her. The singular position of Viola and Orsino produces, perhaps, a stronger interest than the more ordinary position in which the two corresponding characters appear in the Italian play, and it gives occasion for discourses, as the affection grows in the heart of Viola, which are of a more peculiar and interesting character than those which pass between Flaminio and Lelia; though it may be going too far to assert that the dialogue is more engaging than such dialogue as the genius of Shakespeare might have devised, for a forsaken mistress in disguise and the noble youth by whom she was forgotten. The dialogue, indeed, is not to be compared in any part of the two plays. It may be doubted whether Shakespeare is indebted for a single expression to his original. The Italian play is mere prose: but the serious parts of the English play—those in which there is the resemblance to the Italian—is poetry, and such poetry as only Shakespeare could have given us. There are passages of transcendent beauty: those which are quoted when we mean to shew by some brief specimen, of what the genius of Shakespeare was capable: and there is no play which appears to have been finished by him with more assiduity and care.

The underplot in both is a stratagem of the lady's waiting maid. In the Italian play the object of Pasquella is to obtain possession of a rich rosary which belongs to a Spaniard. All this gives place to an entirely different set of incidents, and these, as far as we know, are wholly of Shakespeare's own invention. This is in Shakespeare's manner. We have

had occasion to remark the same thing in the *Much Ado*. And here, as there, the second or underplot relates to some actual occurrences of the time. Here we have characters and incidents, to say nothing of the language, to which the Italian could never have reached. The two plots are also more skilfully united in the English than in the Italian play.

Of minor correspondencies, the going out of Sebastian "to see the reliques of the town," where "reliques" is not what we should expect it to mean in this place, the antiquities of it, but the religious reliques, the remains of saints and martyrs in their gorgeous shrines, the chief objects of curiosity to travellers of the early part of the sixteenth century, is from the Italian. A particular inn is pointed out in *Twelfth Night* by the sign it bears. This is from the Italian. The name of Fabian given by Shakespeare to one of his characters was probably suggested to him by the name of Fabia, which Lelia in the Italian play assumed in her disguise. Malvolio is a happy adaptation from Malevolti, a character in the *Il Sacrificio*.

A phrase occurring in a long prologue or preface prefixed to this play in the Italian appears to me to have suggested the title *Twelfth Night*, which has no kind of propriety or congruity when looked at in connection with the play: and this must have been evident to Shakespeare himself, since he adds to it *or What You Will*. It might be called *Twelfth Night* or by whatever other name. In perusing this prologue or preface the eye of Shakespeare would fall upon the following passage:

La favola e nuova non piu per altri tempi vista ne letta ne meno altronde cavata che della loro industriosa zucca, onde si cavorno ancho la Notte di Befana le sorti nostre, per le quali vi parve, che gl'Intronati vi mordesser tanto in su quel falto del dichiarare, e diceste che gli ha veran così mala lingua.

"The story is new, never seen nor read, and only dipped for and taken out of their own industrious noddles as your prize-tickets are dipped for and taken out on Twelfth Night, by which it appears to you that the Intronati might have answered you so much upon this part of the declaration, and you had said that they had so bad a tongue." The latter part of the sentence is obscure and, possibly, corrupt.

This Italian comedy, which by a fortunate accident rather than design I have been the means of adding to the Shakespeare library, and of first introducing to the public as the true origin of the plot of this play, to the exclusion of other origins which have previously been proposed, has for its title in one of the editions—

Comedia del Sacrificio di gli Intronati. Celebrato ne i ginocchi d'un Carnovale in Siena. Di nuovo corretta, e ristampata. In Venetia: Appresso Francesco Rampazetto. MDLXII.

There is no separate title to the *Ingannati*, which follows upon the *Sacrificio* much as *The Taming of the Shrew* follows upon the Induction: only at the head of the prologue is placed "Prologo delli Ingannati delli Intronati."

The seat of of the *Accademici Intronati* or the *Thunderstruck* was at Sienna. It was one of the more celebrated of the Italian societies to which names of this peculiar class were given. The fundamental rules of the society were six: (1) *Orare*, (2) *Studere*, (3) *Gaudere*, (4) *Neminem lædere*, (5) *Non temere credere*, (6) *De mundo non curare*, as I find them set down in a nearly contemporary manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane 517). The date of its foundation is 1525. The *Sacrificio* was one of their earliest productions, having been performed as early as 1531 at the Carnival at Sienna. Haym says that it was printed at Venice in 1537. There is another edition, printed also at Venice, by Canalcalupo in

1585. In the library of the British Museum are three editions, of the dates 1550, 1554, and 1595. It is included in the collection of the plays of the Academy published in 1611.

A question which arises out of what has been said of the Italian comedies is, whether Shakespeare perused them in their original language, or was indebted for his knowledge of them to some translation. In the first place, there is no reason to suppose that the *Sacrificio* or any of the *Inganni* were ever translated into English. A French translation there was of the *Sacrificio* made in 1543 by Charles Stephen, the physician;* but it can hardly be considered as more probable that Shakespeare was acquainted with this French translation than that he was acquainted with the Italian original. So that we seem left quite at liberty, if we are not compelled, to believe that he did peruse these plays in the language in which they were written. I could almost persuade myself that the very volume in which the *Sacrificio* was first found by me had once been Shakespeare's, and that it contained the identical copies of the *Inganni* of Gonzaga and the *Ingannati* or *Sacrificio* of the Thunderstruck Academicians, which had been used by him. It was at least a singular circumstance that they should be found bound together in the same volume, and the singularity was enhanced by the circumstance that another of the five comedies in the volume was the *Viluppo*, in which one of the characters is designated in the *personæ* as *Orsino innamorata*.

It has been observed above that the notice of this play by Manningham not only opens to view a particular play in the dramatic literature of Italy to which Shakespeare was in-

* *Ginguené*, vol. vi. p. 203. *Ginguené* says that Adrian Politi is supposed to be the author of the *Sacrificio*, and it is placed under his name in the Pinelli Catalogue.

debted, but that it opened to view also a new field in which to hunt for other sources of the plots of Shakespeare. None of his plays had, I believe, before been traced to the Italian theatre: yet Gosson had said in his *Plays Confuted*, that "Comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish had been thoroughly ransacked to furnish the play-houses in London." This was early, but the practice begun might be expected to be continued. Yet of professed translations the *Supposes* of Gascoigne, and a tragedy entitled *Free-will*, mentioned by Langbaine, a copy of which was in the curious library of Martin of Palgrave, translated by H. C. from the Italian of F. N. B., are perhaps all; and ascertained imitations are rare. In looking cursorily over lists of Italian plays of the sixteenth century, we find *Rosamond*, *Dido*, *Timon*, *The Extremely Like*, *The Errors*, *The Usurers*, and *The Alchemist*, which suggest the titles of plays which were exhibited at London.

One remark more, suggested by this notice of Manningham, and I have done. He speaks of Olivia as a widow. She now appears sorrowing not for the loss of a husband but of a brother; and yet the whole construction of the piece by which she is placed at the head of a large establishment, living in feudal splendour, suits so much better with the character of widow than sister, even though the sister may be supposed heiress to her brother's wealth, and her dignity is so much more accordant with the condition of widow than of a young spinster, that I cannot but believe that in the original conception of the play, and as it was first written, she was, as Manningham says she was, a widow mourning for the death of her lord. It is evident that this play has been subjected to alteration after it has been once finished, for Orsino, who is a duke in the two first scenes, becomes only a count for the rest of the play; that is, a change had been made in his

title, and the change not carried through. Possibly the name Falstaff might at the same time be withdrawn, while the character, slightly modified, remained.

There are many passages in this play not rightly given by the modern editors, and several which seem to require more illustration than the commentators afford us.

I. 2. DUKE.

O ! She that hath a heart of that fine frame,
To pay this debt of love hut to a brother,
How will she love, when the rich golden shaft
Hath killed the flock of all affections else
That live in her ; when liver, brain and heart,
These sovereign thrones, are all supplied and filled,
Her sweet perfections with one self SAME king.

The prejudice which so many editors have manifested against the reading of the second folio has led them to reject "same." It appears to me to be necessary, unless an authority can be produced for "self" being used before a substantive, and to be understood as if it were "self-same." The meaning is that the same king would be seated on the three thrones, the liver, the brain, and the heart. Again, if we reject "same" we must pronounce perfections thus, *per-fec-ti-ons* ; and this greatly injures the *flow*, which constitutes one of the chief charms of the poetry of Shakespeare. Even if we had not the authority of the second folio we should be justified in such a case as this in introducing the word. The passage can hardly have been written in the latter part of it as it has come down to us.

I. 2.

VIOLA.—Who governs here ?

CAPTAIN.—A noble duke in nature, as in name.

VIOLA.—What is his name ?

CAPTAIN.—Orsino.

Such is the plain and proper way in which this passage

stands in the original copies, with which the reader may, if he please, compare the sophistications of modern editors.

It is plain that Shakespeare was acquainted with the antiquity of the Orsini family, which had recently been illustrated in a large work, devoted to the subject, by Sansovino.

I. 3. SIR TONY.

Why let her except as before excepted.

It is quite clear that the particle *as* hath dropped out at the press. There is no meaning in "before excepted" with or without the particle; it being only a jocose humorous expression, suitable to the character of the speaker, who is here made to quote a clause of frequent occurrence in deeds of any length, just as Slender in *The Merry Wives* says "In any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation."

I. 5. MALVOLIO.

I protest I take these wise men, that crow so at these set kind of fools, to be no better than the fools' ZANIS.

Mr. Douce says that a fool's zani is the fool's bauble, which may be so, but not in this passage. A *zani* is explained by old Cole to mean "a tumbler who procures laughter by his mimic gestures; a jack-pudding," something even subordinate to the fool in the mountebank exhibitions of the time; "Fools are bad enough, but those who listen to them are worse."

The reply of Olivia is in Shakespeare's best manner; full of wit and wisdom—"O! you are sick of self-love, Malvolio, and taste with a distempered appetite. To be generous, guiltless, and of free disposition, is to take those things for bird-bolts that you deem cannon-bullets. There is no slander in an allowed fool, though he do nothing but rail; nor no railing in a known discreet man, though he do nothing but reprove."

I. 5.

MARIA.—Will you hoist sail, Sir? here lies your way.

VIOLA.—No, good swabber; I am to huff here a little longer. Some mollification for your giant, sweet lady.

OLIVIA.—Tell me your mind.

VIOLA.—I am a messenger.

This is one of the intolerable corruptions of the only authoritative texts which we have of this play, made by some former editor and continued from that time till Mr. Collier has lately brought back the original reading. The two short speeches given to Olivia and Viola are in the folios parts of the speech of Viola, who in them evidently appeals to Olivia whether she will suffer Maria to turn her out of the house so unceremoniously, and claims the privilege of an ambassador to be courteously treated, and allowed to deliver his message.

I. 5. OLIVIA.

But we will draw the curtain and shew you the picture. Look you, Sir, such a one I was this present: is 't not well done?

This is another of the passages which is most grossly corrupted in the text of the Variorum, and has been rightly restored both by Mr. Collier and Mr. Knight. The wonder is that any one could for a moment have mistaken it, or thought that it required the introduction of *as* before "I was," or else that "present" should be turned into "presents." Olivia is not speaking in print, as if her words were to be like the words of a professed orator, but engaged in a lively dialogue, and any words more appropriate to the act of unveiling than those which the poet has assigned to her cannot be conceived. "This present" is a common phrase, often occurring at the close of letters. "We will draw the curtain and shew you the picture" is also a recollected phrase; she is speaking in the language of the theatre, or at least of the play-books. Thus in Hemings' *Fatal Contract*, 1653, a stage direction is "Draw the curtain and shew the picture."

Those who scruple such an expression as "such a one I was this present" would object that it is the "red and white," not "beauty," that is "blent," blended, against the lines which almost immediately follow :

'Tis beauty truly blent, whose red and white
Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on.

They can have nothing of the true spirit of dramatic criticism.

II. 2. VIOLA.

How will this *FADGE* ?

Fadge is a word now obsolete, with a meaning including the whole range of ideas from *proceed* to *succeed*, both the words inclusive. Thus Sandys in his *Travels*, p. 134 : " But the Ethiopian priest, without whom, as they say, the miracle will not *fadge*," &c : and Fuller, speaking of Phaer, who translated part of Virgil, " The study of the law did not *fadge* well with him, which caused him to change his copy and proceed doctor of physic." *Worthies*, Wales, p. 12. Many other instances might be produced.

II. 4. DUKE.

O ! fellow, come, the song we had last night :—
Mark it, Cæsario ; it is old and plain :
The splinters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,
Do use to chaunt it ; it is silly sooth,
And dallies with the innocence of love,
Like the OLD AGE.

Dr. Johnson says, the " old age " is " the ages past, the time of simplicity ; " but as this has been disputed it may be proper to say that his interpretation is confirmed by what goes before, " it is *old* and plain." The poets have always had their golden age of innocence and truth. Googe speaks

of "the people in the old age;" and in the one hundred and twenty-seventh of Shakespeare's Sonnets we have—

*In the old age black was not counted fair,
Or, if it were, it bore not beauty's name.*

Yet, possibly, Shakespeare might lately have been reading the following passage in a book printed in 1592—"Therefore let her both learn her book, and beside that to handle wool and flax, which are two crafts yet left of *that old innocent world*, both profitable, and keepers of temperance, which things especially women ought to have in price." It occurs in Richard Hyrde's Translation of "*The Instruction of a Christian Woman*," by Ludovicus Vives.

II. 4. VIOLA.

She never told her love,
But let concealment like a worm i' the bud
Feed on her damask cheek: she pined in thought,
And with a green and yellow melancholy,
She sat, like Patience on a monument
Smiling at Grief.

Thus I should point and regulate a passage which has been singled out for especial admiration ever since it was selected by Rowe at the beginning of editorial labour on these writings, to exemplify the beauties which are profusely scattered throughout them; and deservedly, for nothing more tender, more delicate, than the sentiment can be conceived; no expression could be more living, more picturesque, more just, and, I will add, more intelligible.

Yet many different interpretations have been given, the fault not, I think, of the passage itself, but of those who have endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to catch the meaning.

Some have gone so far as to say that the image could not be expressed in sculpture. Why not? Two female figures, one representing Grief, which is here equivalent to affliction

or sorrow, the other Patience, looking calmly down on Grief, as if superior to all that she could do ; this would form a subject that might be expressed in marble, and might be no improper subject for a monument, when the intention was to express the noble sentiment of a composed, and quiet, and holy spirit in one who survived, when with the dead a thousand hopes and joys were buried.

And this is precisely the state of mind of Viola, or that which she wished to present to Orsino ; she is Patience thus contemplating Grief.

Then as to the expression "green and yellow melancholy," I do not think that this has ever been rightly explained. If we would understand it we must go to the fancies of the Middle Age period, when particular states of mind were indicated by particular colours. Blue denoted truth ; crimson, cruelty ; white, innocence ; ash colour, repentance ; and then also green denoted hopefulness, and yellow, jealousy : so that a green and yellow melancholy was a melancholy in which there was jealousy, yet hope, which accords exactly with the state of mind of Viola.

There is a line in Young in which we have a similar personification, though without the monument, and by that omission the poet escapes from being brought to task by the question whether his image could be represented by a sculptor. The line is this :

Where Disappointment smiles at Hope's career.

Here Disappointment feels an inward gratification at the thought that she shall have another victim, though he thinks not so, but goes forth on the wings of Hope.

II. 5.

SIR TOBY.—Here comes the little villain : how now, my NETTLE of India.

This is the reading of the second folio, the first having

"mettle of India." Neither phrase has been justified by exhibiting it as used elsewhere by Shakespeare, or by other writers. So far then the two expressions stand upon equal grounds. Mr. Collier and Mr. Knight both reject "nettle," as other editors have done before them. To me it appears by far the better reading. It coheres far better with the expression "the little villain;" and Maria was about to whip and to sting Malvolio, to be a *nettle* to him. Beside, why should the editor of the second folio have made the alteration? He must have had a reason for it, and he lived so near the time of the author, that he must have known many things unknown to us. "Mettle" of the first folio is not so common an orthography as "metal."

II. 5.

FABIAN.—How he *JETS* under his advanced plumes.

This word *jet* is of not unfrequent occurrence precisely in the sense in which Shakespeare has used it: "These ambassadors with their train advanced themselves, and *jetted* so much the more loftily and proudly as they perceived the Utopians to be barely attired."—*Treatise on the Felicity of Man*, by Sir Richard Barclay, 4to. 1598, f. 126.

II. 5.

FABIAN.—Though our silence be drawn from us with *CARS*, yet peace.

The second folio has *cares*, which is even less intelligible. Dr. Johnson suggests *carts*, Mr. Tyrwhitt *cables*; but if we must alter it, I would suggest *cart-ropes*, on the ground that this may be one of the many allusions to passages of Scripture which are found in these plays. "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope." Isaiah, v. 18.

III. 1. OLIVIA.

A cypress not a bosom
Hides my POOR heart: so let me HEAR you speak.

The same prejudice which has been so often noticed against the folio of 1632 has excluded the word "poor," making the verse hobbling, and almost unpronounceable. But to keep up the number of ten syllables, Mr. Malone has recourse to the singular expedient of dividing the word "hear" in two syllables, so that the line, according to him, is to be read thus:

Hides my heart; so let me he-ar you speak.

Why not accept at once the excellent reading of the second folio, when even the first lay under the disadvantage of being a posthumous work, and here we have no quarto.

Cypress is an article of female attire, made of very transparent gauze or lawn. Instances of the use of the word in that sense are innumerable. One remarkable instance may suffice:

Now from the East you issue forth, and we,
As men which through a cypress see
The rising sun, do think it two,
So as you go to church, do think of you.
But that veil being gone
By the church-rites, you are from thenceforth one.

Donne's *Epithalamium*. *Poems*, p. 111.

The cypress was worn about the bosom: "*Crespe*, a cypress for a woman's neck."—Palsgrave. It occurs in that curious enumeration of articles of female attire in Isaiah, iii. 18.

III. 2. SIR TONY.

If thou THOU'ST him some thrice, it shall not be amiss.

It has been very generally thought, since Theobald suggested it, that Shakespeare here pointed at the coarse manner in which Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, treated

Raleigh on his trial ; a thing improbable in itself, since Shakespeare, as far as he had a connection with a political party at all, belonged to the party to which Raleigh was opposed ; but now the earlier date of this play is determined it is certain there could be no such allusion, unless, indeed, this clause was a later addition, which is not probable. That it was an insolent and contemptuous form of speech at the time needs no proving.

III. 3. ANTHONIO.

For which if I be *LAPSED* in this place,
I shall pay dear.

This is the reading of all editions, old and new ; and if authorities could be produced for the use of *lapse* in this sense, which may perhaps be done, no more is to be said. But *lapse* is generally understood to mean something which does not in the least suit this passage, while there was a word, *latched*, very like it, the sense of which is consistent.

Take an example of its use from Golding's Ovid :

A flaming firebrand from amidst an altar Rhœtus snatch't
With which upon the left side of his head Charaxus *latcht*
A blow that crack't his skull. B. xii.

So in Palsgrave—"If I had *latched* the pot in time it had not fallen to the ground."

Again, "A sound being made by the clashing of hard things together, and *latched* by the outward ear." *Gate of Language*, p. 330.

It appears to be nearly the same word with *catch*.

III. 4. SIR TONY.

(*Reads*) Youth, whatsoever thou art, thou art but a scurvy fellow, &c.

This is a ridicule upon the style in which challenges to single combat were couched in those days. Duelling was

quite a vice of the times, and the duels were often fought on the most frivolous occasions. See on this subject Arthur Wilson's life of himself in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 463. He was engaged in several, and provoked to more. Shakespeare lent his aid to the law and the church in repressing the practice. His weapon was ridicule, and he has wielded it most ably, both in this play and in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, which was written at nearly the same period.

IV. 1. CLOWN.

VENT my folly! He has heard that word of some great man, and now applies it to a fool.

We have here Shakespeare ridiculing affectations in language. Jonson, in his *Volpone*, fights by his side in respect of this word: "Pray you what news, sirs, *vents* our climate?"—Act ii. Sc. 1.

IV. 2. CLOWN.

Why it hath bay-windows transparent as barricadoes, and the CLEAR STONES towards the south-north are as lustrous as ebony; and yet complainest thou of obstruction?

Mr. Collier, Mr. Knight, and many others, read *clear-stories*, understanding the Clown to be speaking of the clerestories or upper ranges of windows in the larger churches. This appears to me a case of great editorial misjudgment; for, in the first place, what have clerestories to do with the cell in which Malvolio was confined; and, in the second, clerestory was a term in the time of Shakespeare of very rare occurrence.

What Shakespeare wrote was unquestionably "clear stones," and if it is said that this is a contradiction, it is answered that Shakespeare meant to make the Clown speak in that manner, as is manifest in the whole of what he says.

Stones are clear just as there is a point of the compass which may be called the south-north, or as ebony is lustrous.

And now what pretence do the original copies afford for clear stories? Why, it is this: while the second folio has, what it ought to be, "clear stones," the first folio has "clear stores," which has been turned into "stories. The proofs are without number that we have no text of Shakespeare yet which does him either honour or justice.

We may next expect to see editors *restoring* Taylor's nonsensical lines—

Upon a dark light gloomy sunshine day,
As I in August walked to gather May,
It was at noon near ten o'clock at night,
The sun being set did shine exceeding bright, &c.

—no doubt through the clerestories of the room in which Malvolio was shut up.

V. I. SIR TOBY.

Then he's a rogue, and a PASSY MEASURES PAVIN; I hate a drunken rogue.

It will hardly be doubted that the precise effect of this passage will probably never be understood, and it is well that it is so little worth an attempt at explanation. The exact meaning seems not to have been understood even among Shakespeare's contemporaries, for the second folio has instead of "and" "after." But what sense can there be in either, or what propriety in comparing the drunken surgeon to a dance, which the word "pavin" denotes. "Passy-measures" is also generally believed to be a term in the art of dancing called *passa mezzo*.

It is also to be kept in mind that Sir Toby says this when he knows not well what he says, and may therefore be supposed to speak in such a manner that any attempt of a commentator to reconcile it to sense is almost ridiculous.

However, I shall venture to place the following passage from Wilson's *Logicke*, a book very likely to have fallen in Shakespeare's way, which suggests a different meaning of "passy measures," leaving the whole matter in the reader's hands :

Three merie fellows reason when they are at nale,

He that drynkes wel, slepes wel ;

He that slepes wel, sinnes not ;

He that sinnes not shalbe saved.

Therefore let us drynk wel, and we shalbe saved.

Marke the procedyng and you shall easily avoide the errour, for although in slepe we sinne not, yet by drinkyng we cause synne, and no one man at one time both drynketh and slepeth ; therefore, though in slepyng he offended not, yet in *drynkyng* he *passeth measure*.

V. I. OLIVIA.

A most EXACTING frenzy of mine own

From my remembrance clearly banished his.

This is the reading of the second folio, so much neglected, and nowhere more than in settling the text of this play. The common editions, following the first folio, have "extracting." "A most exacting frenzy of mine own," a frenzy that exacted from me all attention, all my thoughts and time ; far better than "extracting," which seems to have got in from the "distract" of the line above.

A WINTER'S TALE.

THE name of this play requires an article, although none is given to it in the Variorum. There is perhaps no very strong reason for preferring one to the other, but on the whole the indefinite article appears to me to express more exactly the meaning of the author than the definite, which is prefixed in the original editions.

It is a Tale for Winter, or as in the Book of the Revels, a Winter Night's Tale, such a tale as we may conceive to have cheered the dreary hours of a winter's night as a family crowded round the fire, the storm beating against the casement, or, as it is ingeniously expressed in the title of one of the manuscripts in the library of Martin of Palgrave, written in 1605, as if written "of purpose to shorten the lives of long winter nights that lie watching in the dark for us." Shakespeare alludes to this practice of his times both in *Macbeth*, iii. 4, and *King Richard the Second*, v. 1. There are passages in the play which plainly allude to it. Such nights are probably now but of the things that have been.*

The opinion has prevailed among the commentators that there was some coincidence in respect of the time when this

* It is a touching picture of the interior of an Englishman's house which is presented in a few words by Dr. Henry More in the dedication of his *Philosophical Poems* to his father, Alexander More, a gentleman of Grantham, in Lincolnshire: "You have from my childhood tuned mine ears to Spenser's rhymes, entertaining us in Winter Nights with that incomparable piece of his, *The Fairy Queen*, a poem as richly fraught with divine morality as fancy." This is something higher than listening even to so wild a tale as *Dorastus and Fawnia*, the story of this play; and I am willing to believe from this single circumstance belonging to it that the house of the Mores at Grantham was one in which all the virtues made their abode.

play was written and the date of the *Twelfth Night*. Beyond the fact that we find the poet here again attacking the puritans I do not perceive on what the opinion rests. That, however, appears to me to be something. It may seem also that the title *Twelfth Night* may have suggested the title *A Winter's Tale*. There is a slight connection between them, and neither of them has any particular and exclusive suitability to the dramatic piece to which it is prefixed.

This is one of the plays of which we have no earlier edition than that of 1623, in the first folio; neither is there any notice of it in the books of the Stationers' Company before that year. It is not named by Meres; and the earliest proof of its existence that has been hitherto discovered is in some writing of that ridiculous person, Dr. Simon Forman, among his papers in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. He there states that he was present at the representation of this play on May 15, 1611. We have thus an incontrovertible limit in one direction.* It appears also from the *Book of the Revels* that it was performed at Court on the fifth of November in that year.†

Mr. Collier in endeavouring to establish his point that *A Winter's Tale* was produced late in the poet's life lays a principal stress on these two facts. But nothing can be clearer than that the mere fact that Forman witnessed the performance in 1611 is no proof whatever that the play had not been written and performed many years before. He saw also about the same time *Macbeth*, *King Richard the Second*, and *Cymbeline*; and yet no person will I conceive be dis-

* It is in No. 208 of the Ashmole Manuscripts. My attention was first drawn to these notes of Forman by my friend Dr. Bliss (to whom every thing of this kind at Oxford is perfectly familiar), at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in the summer of 1832.

† *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, by Peter Cunningham, 8vo. 1842, p. 210.

posed to contend that these plays were written and first performed in 1610 or 1611. The performance at Court in the same year proves nothing in respect of date, except that the play was written before November 1611. As to anything more it is the argument pressed against my opinion of the early date of *The Tempest*, and admits of the same refutation. We do not know from anything else that Forman has written that he was one of those who never visit the theatres except on first nights; but we do know that plays which were not new were performed at Court, as hath been shewn in detail already; therefore, that *A Winter's Tale* was performed at Court on November 5, 1611, is no proof whatever that it was then a new play, nor does it raise the slightest probability in that direction. But there is an obvious reason for this play having been chosen for representation at Court on the night of the fifth of November, when the holyday had been spent in commemoration of the blow aimed at the King's anointed head, in the passage, which is so extremely appropriate to the day,

If I could find example
Of thousands that have struck anointed kings
And flourished after, I'd not do it: but since
Nor brass, nor stone, nor parchment, bears not one,
Let villainy itself forswear it.—Act i. Sc. 2.

These words we are sure at least would be received with a *plaudite*!

Upon this passage Sir William Blackstone founded an argument to prove that *A Winter's Tale* could not have been written in the reign of Elizabeth, inasmuch as she was one who had struck, not an anointed king, indeed, but an anointed queen, in the person of the Queen of Scots. There was, however, something in the passage so grateful to the ear of royalty, that the minor consideration would probably

be lost in it if the words were repeated before the queen : nor does it appear that she ever pleaded guilty to having given the command advisedly to put the Queen of Scots to death. So that on the whole there does not appear to be much in the remark.

The internal evidence for date is, indeed, exceedingly slight ; of which no better proof can be given than the great discordancy of the commentators on this point. Chalmers comes to the conclusion that it was written in 1601 : while Malone, at three different periods of his life, contended for three different and distinct dates, namely, 1594, 1604, and finally 1611.

Mr. Malone's reason for resting in the latest date is one which is also one of the three reasons on which Mr. Collier relies. At first view it appears conclusive ; but it ceases to be so when brought to the test. The argument is this :—Mr. Malone was acquainted with a manuscript journal of Sir Henry Herbert, who, about 1622, entered on the office of Master of the Revels. In this he found the following entry :—"For the King's Players, an old play, called *Winter's Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Buck, and likewise by me, on Mr. Hemmings his word, that there was nothing profane added or reformed, though the allowed book was missing : and therefore I returned it without a fee, this 19th of August, 1623."* On this Mr. Collier argues, as Mr. Malone had done before him, thus :—"Sir George Buc was Master of the Revels from October 1610, until May 1622. Sir George Buc must, therefore, have licensed the *Winter's Tale* between October 1610, when he was appointed to his office, and May 1611, when Forman saw it at the Globe." This appears decisive : but it only appears

* *Boswell's Malone*, vol. iii. p. 229.

so, for Mr. Chalmers gives a long list of plays, which were licensed by Sir George Buck before October 1610, and apparently on the best authority. It is that of the books of the Stationers' Company. They were plays which were printed, or which it was intended to print. Thus Sir George Buck licensed *The Fleire* on or before May 6, 1606; in June 1607, Chapman's *Bussy Damboise*; in July 1607, *The Misery of Enforced Marriage*.^{*} If Mr. Chalmers is right in all this we have proof that Sir George Buck began to license long before October 1610. How long before May 1606 he exercised this privilege we know not, but we know that he had a grant of the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels after the death of Edmund Tilney, who then held it, in June 1603. The argument, however, for the late date of *A Winter's Tale*, drawn from the date of Sir George Buck's appointment to the office is, I submit, untenable.

On the whole I should incline very much to Mr. Chalmers' opinion, slight as the indications are, and place this play in near succession to *Twelfth Night*, and not later than 1601 or 1602. If its having been licensed by Sir George Buck compel us to look for a later date, I should place it about the time of the Gunpowder Plot, 1606, (a year in which we know that Sir George Buck did license plays), the passage about striking anointed kings admitting so easily of being construed into an intended allusion to that dreadful conspiracy.

There is even another passage in this play which seems directly pointed against the cruel treatment which persons called heretics had so frequently met with from spirits in the Church possessing neither the gentleness of a Chris-

^{*} *Supplemental Apology for the Reviewers*, p. 500; where many others are named, licensed by him before 1610.

tian nor the humanity of a man. There were persons then alive who could remember the fires of Smithfield, when Shakespeare put in the mouth of one of his actors the words which ought to be written in golden letters :

It is an heretic that makes the fire,
Not she which burns in it.—Act ii. Sc. 3.

If really written with a view to the Gunpowder Plot, and if this really were a Fifth of November Play, we may understand at once the application of the sentiment, and regard our great poet as again using his mighty power in aid of justice and benevolence. At the same time the Roman Catholic Church must not bear all the blame : for in this reign there were two persons put to death for what were called blasphemous opinions, heresy, and by this same cruel mode of death.

It is a point of little moment whether Bohemia be really a maritime country or no ; but, as so much has been said about the geography of this play, reference may be made to a letter in *The Monthly Magazine*, for January 1811, p. 528, for what is at least an ingenious observation—"In the year 1270, the provinces of Stiria and Carniola were dependent on the crown of Bohemia. The dependencies on a large empire are often denominated from the seat of government, so that a vessel sailing to Aquileia or Trieste might, in the thirteenth century, be correctly described as bound for Bohemia. The shipwreck, therefore, in this play does not imply a breach of geography."

It seems as if we had been in some danger of losing this play. In the folio collection there is a blank page following *Twelfth Night*, as if there the collection of comedies ended, and the histories were about to begin : and my copy of the first folio actually wants the *Winter's Tale*,

the play of *King John* following immediately on the *Twelfth Night*.

I proceed to remark on a few particular passages :

I. 2. POLIXENES.

Nine changes of the watry star have been
The SHEPHERDS' NOTE.

Why *Shepherds'* ? It is because there was an opinion abroad that the shepherds feeding their flocks by night were great observers of the heavenly bodies. I have already referred to the old book, entitled *The Shepherd's Calendar*, a translation from the French, of which there were many editions. There is much in it relating to the sciences, and especially astronomy : and the first chapter has this title—"A great question asked between the Shepherds touching the stars, and an answer made to the same question." Again, another chapter is entitled—"How Shepherds, by calculation and speculation, know the Twelve Signs in their course." And another—"Of divers impressions that Shepherds see in the night in the air." Hence, "The Shepherds' Note."

II. 3. PAULINA.

'Mongst all colours
No yellow in't ; lest she suspect.

In the remarks on the "green and yellow melancholy" I have observed that yellow was the colour denoting jealousy, and here is a confirmation of it from Shakespeare himself.

I annex, in further proof, a singular passage from Bolton's *Elements of Armouries*, 4to. 1610, p. 131.

That there is a nationall as well as a personal respect cannot be denyd, and colours rather than other are vulgarly appropriated to special uses, as symbolical

to them, so far forth as a kind of superstition is growne upon the avoyding, for you shal seldome see a bridegroom wed in *yellow*, or a forsaken lover walk in *blew*. To mourne in *black* is as nationall a custome as for the grave and civill to go therein. Who sees not what a religion there is, as it were, in the use of colours? At a Saint George's feast, a tilt or triumph, no man will usurp his majesties knowne colours; *yellow* and *red*. Is there a gracious servant in court who will dare to mount any other colour into his hat than that which his ladye and mistresse best approves and useth? There is scarce any noble person who doth not affect one colour, and prefer it before another in his fansie, though himself can render no reason for it.

IV. 2. AUTOLYCHUS.

The lark that *TIRRA-LIRRA* chants.

This was the approved mode of representing to the eye the note of the lark. In the *Poeta Linguarum Trilinguis*, 1633, in the section on birds and their notes, we have "a crow crackleth, a swallow and a sparrow chirp, the lark doth sing *tira-lira*." Probably the birds in the arms of *Tyrwhitt*, the name of one of the commentators, are larks.

Sylvester's rendering of the passage in Du Bartas, which is quoted in the notes, deserved to have been added for its singularity and aptness :

The pretty lark, climbing the welkin clear,
Chants with a chear, *Hear peer-I neer my deer* :
Then stooping thence, seeming her fall to rew,
Adieu, she saith, *adieu*, *deer deer*, *adieu*.

IV. 3. PERDITA.

These are flowers
Of middle summer, and, I think, they are given
To men of middle age.

The word *given* is here heraldic, and rightly to understand this most delightful scene we ought to recollect that the old heralds had various systems of blazoning, each colour and

metal being designated by a planet, a precious stone, an age of man, a flower, an element, a season of the year, at the pleasure of the blazoner, and sometimes in a fanciful relation to the rank and quality of the person whose arms he was describing. This fancy may be traced downwards to the beginning of the last century, but it has now disappeared, and only the French terms are in use.

Under that system the arms of Clifford, which are now described as being, Checkie Or and Azure, a fess Gules, if blazoned by the planets would be—Checkie the Sun and Jupiter, a fess Mars. If by the ages of man they would be—Checkie Adolescence and Puerility, a fess Virility. If by flowers—Checkie the Marygold and the Blue Lilly, a fess Gillofer; and so on.

Thus an association was formed between certain flowers and certain ages of the life of man—certain flowers were *given*, in the heraldic phrase, to certain ages. Sir John Ferne has a large table of these various modes of blazoning (*Blazon of Gentry*, 1586, p. 169), from which I extract the part relating to men's ages and to flowers:

Infancy.—The Lilly and White Rose.

Puerility.—The Blue Lilly.

Adolescence.—The Mary Gold.

Lusty Green Youth.—All manner of verdures or green things.

Virility.—Gillofer and Red Rose.

Grey Hairs.—The Violet.

Decrepitude.—The Aubifaine.

If we look closely at the language of Perdita we shall see that Shakespeare had in his mind these associations when he represented her distributing flowers to the persons of various ages who had come to the sheep-shearing, though using the licence of a poet when he thought he could improve on the disposition. Thus to the young she gives, or rather would

give, were the season of the year favourable, for this sheep-shearing is represented to be in autumn, daffodils, violets, primroses, oxlips, the crown-imperial, and the various kinds of lillies. To the persons of middle age the marygold is the only flower she gives, but she gives with it lavender, mint, savory, and marjoram, that is, "all manner of verdures or green things." Carnations and gillivers, she says, are for persons whose time of life approaches old age; and to the two old men she gives rosemary and rue.

The urbanity of Shakespeare's mind is perhaps nowhere more strikingly manifested than in the dialogue between Perdita and the two old men who had come to the sheep-shearing. She had given them rosemary and rue. These, Polixenes says, "well fit their age." Perdita, perceiving that she might have reminded them unpleasantly of their advanced period of life, says that she should not have presented them with the "flowers of winter" were not the garden barren of such flowers as belonged to the period of life which precedes age, the gillivers.

The reason which she assigns for not having cultivated the "streaked gilliver" is in accordance with her character, as one brought up amidst the beauties of Nature, and regarding any art but as a debasement of the productions of that Nature which she worshipped.

POLIXENES.— Wherefore, gentle maiden,
Do you neglect them?

PERDITA.— For I have heard it said,
There is an art which in their piedness shares
With great creating Nature.

This has not been well explained. Attempts to modify the form and colours of flowers have made part of the art of gardening in all ages. The gilliver was one on which, in

Shakespeare's time, these attempts were made. Parkinson, who regards such efforts as "the mere fancies of men, without any ground of reason or truth," says that if men would have lillies or gillivers to be of a scarlet red colour they put vermilion or cinnabar between the rind and the small heads growing about the root; if they would have them blue, azure or bisse; if yellow, orpiment; if green, verdigris, and thus of any other colour. Upon this explanation of the words of Perdita the ensuing dialogue is founded, in which this part of the art of gardening is defended by Polixenes.

The marygold was not the plant now so denominated, but the sun-flower. Thus, in Sylvester—

Canst thou the secret sympathy behold
Betwixt the bright sun and the marygold,
And not consider that we must no less
Follow in life the sun of righteousness? *Du Barlas*, p. 189.

and Higgins, in his adaptation to the English language of Hadrian Junius' *Nomenclator*, puts marygold as the correspondent English flower to the Heliotropium. Whence Shakespeare—

The mary gold that goes to bed with the sun
And with him rises weeping.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that "take" in the following lines is used in its sense of fascinate.

Daffodils
That come before the swallow dares, and *take*
The winds of March with beauty.

Amongst the other merits of this delightful scene it may be mentioned that it affords one of the most striking proofs that the mythology of the classical countries was deeply inwrought in the mind of Shakespeare, in the felicity with

which he produces the flowers of Proserpina, and the transformations of Jupiter, Neptune, and Apollo. It is not that he was acquainted with these fables—that he might as easily have become as he was with “two-headed Janus” and the gait of Juno—but that he was so intimately acquainted with them, had them so wrought into the substance of his mind, that he produces them in rapid succession in a scene which bears such evident marks of having come fresh from off his mind. We should not find this if he had not at some period of his life paid long attention to the subject.

IV. 3. SHEPHERD.

They call him Doricles; and boasts himself
To have a worthy feeding; but I have it
Upon his own report and I believe it;
He looks like sooth.

The modern copies represent correctly the reading of the original edition; but, unless we are to suppose that the Shepherd was meant to express his meaning somewhat uncouthly, it seems as if it should stand thus:

I have it but
Upon his own report; and I believe it,
He looks like sooth.

He looks like truth itself, I therefore believe it, although, from the very nature of the situation in which Florizel is placed, there must have been room for just suspicion that he did not possess the wide and rich tract of pasture-ground of which he spoke. In the first line there is an elision of the pronoun *he* before “boasts.”

IV. 3. CLOWN.

CLAMOUR your tongues.

This expression is not well explained; but, as in words

like this there is always a temptation to disturb the text, and in this particular instance it has been proposed to substitute *charm*, I add that the same phrase is found in John Taylor (*Works*, 1630). It is in that strange mish-mash of words and sentences, *Sir Gregory Nonsense his news from no place*.

He thus began ; Cease friendly cutting throats,
Clamour the promulgation of your *tongues*,
 And yield to Demagorgon's policy.
 Stop the refulgent method of your moods, &c.

IV. 3. POLIXENES.

Thou old traitor, I am sorry, that by hanging thee, I can but shorten thy life one week.

There are occasional out-breakings like this in Shakespeare for which we know not how to account. Thus Hamlet's reason for not executing his purpose on the King when the King was at prayer, because by taking him off in such a moment his soul would go to heaven, is of the same nature. It would have suited the circumstances of the case dramatically had Polixenes stopped with dooming the Shepherd to death, and have had more moral propriety.

But, in fact, the whole speech of the King grates so harshly on the ear that it is evident it ought not to have been introduced at all in a scene to which it is so exquisitely incongruous. That Polixenes should be sorry, displeased, on account of his son's choice is natural, but the steps which he meant to take in consequence should have been discovered in some other scene, and not have so broken in upon and disturbed the beautiful harmony of the present.

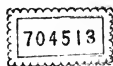
The sentiment given to Perdita might be one of the common-places of the time, but it comes with all the freshness and grace of novelty—

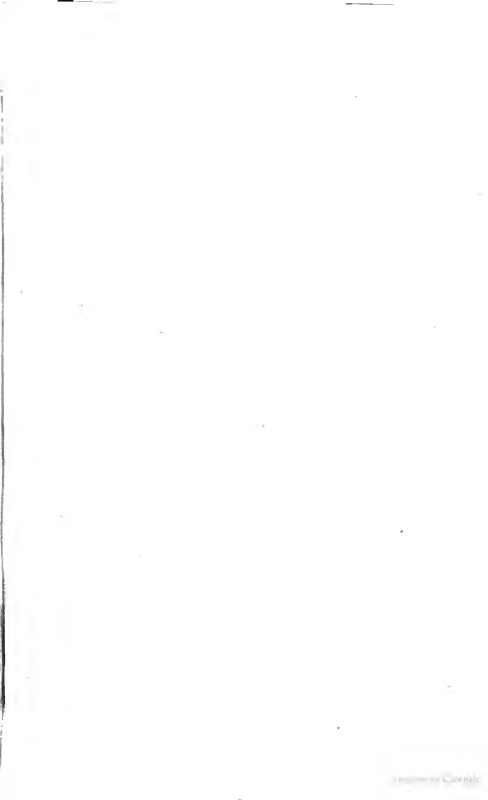
For once or twice,
I was about to speak ; and tell him plainly,
The self same sun, that shines upon his court,
Hides not his visage from our cottage, but
Looks on all alike.

I have ventured a very slight change in the text. "All" in such a connection might easily be lost.

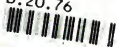
Both Perdita and Paulina are, perhaps, more individualized than any other of the female characters in these plays.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





B.20.76



BNC F

